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9, No. 4 \$1.50

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Published quarterly by The Middle East Institute, Washington, D. C. Subscription price, 1 year, \$6.00; 2 years, \$11.00. Single copies, \$1.50. No additional charge for postage. Mail all communications to The Middle East Journal, 1761 N St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C. Entered as second-class matter January 9, 1948 at the post office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Additional entry at the post office at Baltimore, Md.

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VOLUME 9

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NUMBER 4

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THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL is indexed in *International Index to Periodicals* and *Public Affairs Information Service*

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THE MIDDLE EAST *Journal*

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THE IMPACT OF THE OIL INDUSTRY ON THE PERSIAN GULF SHAYKHDOMS

Sir Rupert Hay

MY OBJECT in this paper is to discuss the social and political effects which the oil industry has had on the small Arab shaykhdoms which are strung out along the western shore of the Persian Gulf. There are ten of these shaykhdoms in all: Kuwait, Bahrain, Qatar, and the seven Trucial States. Only in the first three of these is oil at present being produced and it is with these that I propose mainly to deal. The industry has had more far-reaching effects, especially politically, in the other countries bordering the Persian Gulf, viz., Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Iran, but these are outside the scope of the present discussion; my intention is to describe to the best of my ability the changes which a closer contact with the West and an access of wealth have brought in the three shaykhdoms mentioned above.

It may be desirable to say something first about the status of these shaykhdoms, their system of government, and their economic position before oil was found in them. All of them have treaties with Great Britain whereby it conducts their foreign relations and is thus automatically respon-

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sible for their protection, but Great Britain has never declared a Protectorate over them and internally they are independent. Their system of government is patriarchal. They are ruled by hereditary shaykhs who regularly give audience to their subjects and listen to what they have to say; but except for municipal committees in some places there are no democratic institutions. High offices of state are in many cases held by members of the ruling family. Before oil was found, the economy of these shaykhdoms depended on the pearl industry and to a lesser extent on fishing, boat building, and the carrying trade. These occupations afforded them only a precarious livelihood, and when the introduction of the Japanese cultured pearl between World Wars I and II knocked the bottom out of the natural pearl industry they were faced with starvation. Fortunately oil came to the rescue.

BAHRAIN

I will deal with the Shaykhdom of Bahrain first as it was there that oil was first found and it is there that the industry has had most time to affect the local situation. Bahrain is a group of islands with a total area of about 200 square miles and a population of about 110,000. There are two fairly large towns, Manamah and Muharraq, and many villages scattered about amongst the date gardens. Most of the villages are inhabited by Baharinah, who claim to be Arabs, speak Arabic, and are of the Shi'i faith. They were the original owners of the date gardens, but for many generations now have cultivated them under Sunni landlords. Muharraq is almost entirely Sunni Arab, but the population of Manamah is very mixed and includes besides Sunni Arabs and Baharinah many Persians and Indians.

Oil was discovered in Bahrain in 1932 by the Bahrain Petroleum Company, an American concern registered in Canada and designated a British company. It employs about 1,150 Westerners, with Americans at the top and the rest mostly British, several hundred Indians and Pakistanis, and about 5,000 local Arabs, the last mostly in unskilled or semiskilled jobs. The oilfield is a small one but the company operates a large refinery, for which the bulk of the oil refined comes from Saudi Arabia. The royalty was originally fixed at Rs. 3/8 per ton; this brought in only a moderate income for the Shaykhdom, but in 1952 the company entered into a 50-50 profit-sharing agreement with the Ruler by virtue of which the Shaykhdom now derives a revenue of about £ 2.5 million from oil, in addition to £ 1 million which it obtains from customs and other sources.

In 1926, some years before oil was found, the Ruler appointed a British Adviser to assist him in putting the administration of his state on a sound basis. The post has now been held by one man, Sir Charles Belgrave, for nearly thirty years. Since oil revenue has been coming in, Bahrain has steadily progressed until it is now one of the best administered states in

the Middle East. A conservative policy has been followed and a substantial sum has been set aside as a financial reserve against the day when the oil fails or is no longer a marketable asset. A proper budget is prepared every year and published with an Annual Administration Report. All the usual departments of government have been set up and there is an efficient police force. Municipal committees have been established in the towns. Manamah has been provided with a piped water supply and electricity and with a fine state hospital, a large secondary school with a hostel attached to it, and a number of primary schools. Schools have been built and dispensaries opened in Muharraq and some of the villages. Good roads have been built connecting the chief centers of population in the main island. The Public Health Department has practically stamped out malaria and greatly mitigated the fly pest by constant spraying with DDT.

The position regarding education requires more detailed consideration. The Bahrain Petroleum Company is bound by its concession to employ as many Bahrain subjects as possible and has always done its best to fulfill this obligation. Owing, however, to the lack of educated Bahrainis, it has been forced to fill all the senior posts with Americans and British and to employ a substantial number of Indian and Pakistani clerks and artisans. It is making strenuous efforts to educate its local labor, both academically and technically, and is assisting the local government by providing the services of English teachers, building village schools, and making scholarships available for study abroad. Education in the islands is not compulsory, partly because there are not sufficient schools, and boys are in fact being turned away from the primary schools owing to the lack of accommodation. There is, however, as yet little demand for advanced education. As soon as a boy has learned to read and write Arabic and obtained a smattering of English and some knowledge of mathematics, he leaves school to obtain employment with the oil company or in some business in the towns; as a result, the top classes in the secondary school are poorly attended. Technical education is not popular and there are few or no budding engineers, chemists, etc. Thus there is no professional class in Bahrain and it is likely to be a long time before the company is able to offer a substantial number of Bahrainis appointments on its senior staff.

The oil industry has brought great prosperity to the islands. A substantial proportion of the oil revenue is devoted to the civil list and all members of the ruling family receive generous allowances. Some of the latter do good work for the state; others lead lives of indolence, a matter which is beginning to attract popular attention. The merchants and shopkeepers profit indirectly from the presence of a large number of foreigners and the greatly increased purchasing power of the local population. The people at large are drawing good wages and there is no lack of employment. In fact, there is overemployment and the ruling class are finding it difficult to obtain

domestic servants and men to cultivate their gardens in spite of the immigration of numerous Omanis and others in search of work. The minimum daily wage has increased since the last war from Rs. 2 to Rs. 5.

All this, however, has made surprisingly little difference to the manner of life of the population. The rich own expensive cars and indulge in foreign travel and the laboring classes dress better, wear wrist watches, own bicycles with every kind of gadget, patronize the cinemas, buy tinned pineapple and sweets, and talk a little English, but their religion, morals, and home life remain much as before. The company has based successive increases in the minimum daily wage largely on the cost of a diet containing the requisite number of calories to keep a man and his family properly nourished, but I very much doubt whether there has been any substantial change in the basic diet of the people and suspect that the extra money has mostly been spent on such items as those just mentioned. Except for a modern school building here and there, the villages probably present much the same appearance as they have for centuries. Even in Manamah, outside the main streets there has been little external change though conditions inside the houses and shops have been improved by the introduction of electricity, a piped water supply, and in some cases modern furniture.

Religion is largely responsible for this conservatism. The Ruler is a strict Muslim and insists on the strict observance of Islam by his Muslim subjects. Any Bahraini subject found with alcoholic liquor in his possession is liable to six-months' imprisonment. The local Arab ladies all wear the veil. This is not enjoined by the Qur'an and I have heard an early relaxation of the practice prophesied by a Bahraini. Should this happen great social changes will follow. Such a development is possible as a great advance has been made in female education, though nearly all the girls leave school on attaining the age of puberty. The company contributes, I think wisely, to the maintenance of the status quo by transporting its local employees back to their homes when their day's (or night's) work is ended and not housing them in or near their camp.

The oil industry has now been established in Bahrain for almost a generation, and the ever-increasing contact with the Western way of life which this has entailed, together with the radio, the circulation of newspapers from more advanced Middle Eastern countries, and foreign travel, has undoubtedly led to an awakening of political consciousness, but only during the last year has there been any serious agitation for reforms. This may be ascribed mainly to the absence of a professional class and to the all-round prosperity. Such trouble as there has been has derived largely from religious animosity between the Shi'is and Sunnis, which in its turn is based, I think, to a great extent on a growing discontent on the part of the Baharinah, the original owners of the land, with Sunni domination, and on the fear of the Sunnis, who are slightly in the minority, of losing their

present position. There are, however, signs even among the Sunnis of a demand for a more democratic form of government; in particular the law courts, which are presided over to a great extent by members of the ruling family without any judicial qualifications, have been the object of much criticism.

Toward the end of 1954 there was a general strike based on a demand for reforms, and as a result the Ruler appointed a committee to examine the state of his administration and make recommendations for its improvement. It is dangerous to prophesy, but up to the present, development in Bahrain has always been gradual, and any drastic change in the regime in the near future appears improbable. There is, however, room for improvement in some of the methods of administration and it is to be hoped that the necessary reforms will be effected in a quiet and orderly manner.

KUWAIT

The Shaykhdom of Kuwait presents a very different picture. It occupies about 4,000 square miles of the mainland at the northern end of the Persian Gulf. Outside the town of Kuwait and its suburbs there are only a few small villages; the rest of the Shaykhdom, except for the Kuwait Oil Company's camp, is waterless desert. The population in 1946 probably did not exceed 100,000, but now as a result of the oil boom has been swollen by immigration to double that number. The indigenous population is predominantly Sunni Arab, though some Persians and a few Indians have long been resident in the town. The recent immigrants are for the most part Arabs from other Middle Eastern countries but include a substantial number of Persians, Indians, and Pakistanis. Kuwait is a more purely Arab center than Bahrain and is more affected by Arab nationalism and movements in the Arab world generally. The Sunnis are in a very great majority and there is no Sunni-Shi'i question as in Bahrain.

The Kuwait Oil Company is half American and half British. It discovered oil at Burgan, about 25 miles south of the town of Kuwait, shortly before World War II, but operations were closed down on account of the war and production did not start until 1946. Since then the field has proved to be one of the richest in the world, and its yield is in the neighborhood of a million barrels a day. Another field has recently been discovered in its vicinity. The royalty was fixed originally at Rs. 3 per ton, but in 1950 the company entered into a 50-50 profit-sharing agreement with the Ruler, as a result of which he now enjoys an income from oil of about £60 million a year. The company employs about 700 Westerners, mostly British, a few hundred Indians and Pakistanis, and about 5,000 Kuwaitis.

South of Kuwait lies a Neutral Zone about 2,000 square miles in extent in which Kuwait and Saudi Arabia possess equal rights. In 1948 these states granted concessions for their undivided shares to two different American

oil companies. The Kuwait concessionary, the American Independent Oil Company, has its local head office in Kuwait. Oil has been found and is being produced but not as yet in such quantities as to affect Kuwait's economy beyond making a certain amount of dollars available for the Ruler. The Zone itself is uninhabited.

Kuwait has never had a properly organized administration. Before oil was produced the revenue was very small and funds were allotted as they became available to the heads of departments, who were for the most part members of the ruling family. There was no financial control at the center and no budget. Even so, a start was made with state education, police forces were raised, and law courts established. Since the great wealth from oil has become available, an attempt has been made to convert the desert town of Kuwait into a modern city and to create a welfare state in the space of a few years without first establishing a sound administration. Much confusion has resulted. The Ruler has employed a number of British administrative, engineering, and medical experts who work in strict subordination to the Kuwaiti heads of departments, but the latter have not yet been subjected to any proper financial control from the center. The oil revenues have been allocated on the basis of a third for current expenditure, a third for development, and a third for investment, but apart from this any budgeting has been of the roughest kind. The Ruler has, however, recently appointed a small committee or council to advise him regarding his administration, and it is possible that this may lead to salutary reforms.

Some progress had been made in development before the signing of the 50-50 agreement with the Kuwait Oil Company at the end of 1950; after this, things went ahead with a rush. An elaborate program was prepared by a British engineer, and most of the initial work was allotted to five British firms in partnership with some of the leading Kuwaiti merchants. Large camps were prepared for the personnel employed, huge buildings began to rise, and the open places were pitted with excavations and littered with material. After a year or two the Kuwaiti merchants who had not been taken into partnership by the British contracting firms began to agitate for a share in the work, a feeling arose that the British were making too much out of Kuwait and that some of the profits should go either to Kuwaitis or to Arabs in general, and the Ruler became alarmed at the amount of capital and current expenditure that was being incurred. In an effort to alter the situation, an Arab was appointed as chief engineer, it was decided that in the future all contracts should be given out to tender, and meanwhile no new major works were to be undertaken.

Much material progress has, however, been made. Before the boom set in a hospital was built and work was started by a Lebanese firm on a large new secondary school outside the town, with hostels and teachers' quarters adjoining it. Since 1950 a sea-water distillation plant has been completed

to produce a million gallons of potable water a day (and capable of further expansion), and a power house, numerous primary schools, and a technical school with accommodation for a thousand students have either been completed or are in process of construction. The schools are provided with dining halls, sports grounds, and swimming pools, and huge kitchens have been built from which the students are to receive free meals. All education in Kuwait, as well as all medical treatment, is free. A number of good roads are being built both inside and outside the town, and work has begun on private houses to make possible the evacuation and demolition of some of the meaner dwellings in which the population at present reside, leading in turn to the replanning of the whole town. As a result of all this, Kuwait has become an inharmonious blend of ancient and modern in which the local inhabitants are almost outnumbered by foreigners of many descriptions, and the whole scene is one of intense but ill-ordered activity.

There are two projects for the future which deserve special mention. The first is the development of the port of Kuwait. At present ocean-going vessels have to lie about two miles out in the bay, and as the arrangements for the landing of cargo have not been adequately expanded to meet the increased traffic, there has been much congestion of shipping. It is proposed to dredge a channel to enable ships to come alongside at Shuwaikh, just west of the town, and to construct a large wharf there. Some dredging has already been undertaken and it is expected that the contract for the construction of the port will shortly be put out to tender. The second project is the construction of a pipeline or canal to bring fresh water from the Shatt al-Arab. The Iraqi government has agreed to this in principle, and consultants have been asked to prepare a scheme. The distillation plant already ensures an adequate supply of drinking water, but should this new project materialize it will be possible to beautify Kuwait with gardens and avenues and to bring under cultivation some of the desert, the fertility of which is proved by its verdure whenever there are good winter rains.

The state is making great efforts to promote education and to this end employs a large number of Egyptian, Palestinian, Lebanese, and Syrian (but not Western) teachers. As in Bahrain, there is great enthusiasm for primary education but boys tend to leave school before they reach the higher grades and no professional class has yet started to develop. The Kuwait Oil Company maintains a large and well administered technical school for its local labor, and under the terms of its concession sends abroad each year a number of Kuwaiti students, mostly to the United Kingdom, for different kinds of study. The Kuwaitis hope that their huge new secondary school will eventually become a university and attract students from neighboring countries, but at present the local demand for higher education is very small. The Kuwait government has always refused to allow any

Western interference in its local educational affairs, tending, rather, to seek guidance from Egypt.

The political effects of the oil boom in Kuwait are difficult to assess. The people are more independent-minded and more democratic than the Bahrainis and more conscious of their Arab nationality. In 1938 the late Ruler, Shaykh Ahmad, was nearly unseated by popular demands for a Council. One was appointed but it only functioned for a brief period. The Ruler holds public audience almost every working day and the heads of the Kuwait Municipality and of the Education and Health Departments are assisted by committees. On the other hand, the members of the ruling family who are heads of departments do much as they please, brooking little control from above and in some cases paying little regard to public opinion. The merchants, who are a powerful body in Kuwait, are believed to be dissatisfied with the present state of affairs; the man in the street is probably too busy making money to worry about the political situation. The question of succession is always a disturbing factor, as in Kuwait when a Ruler dies he is not succeeded automatically by his eldest son but, in accordance with Arab tribal custom, by a successor selected at a conclave of the ruling family from amongst its senior members. This leads to much uncertainty and intrigue even when a ruler is expected to have many years of life ahead of him.

Internally, the political future of Kuwait is unpredictable. It may carry on much as at present for many years more, though it would seem probable that with the spread of education and the return of students with experience of life in the West a demand for a more popular form of government will eventually arise. Externally, it seems unlikely that Kuwait will wish to share its wealth with any of its neighbors, and that it will therefore continue to allow Great Britain to supervise its foreign relations for so long as it is satisfied that that power can guarantee its independence. It will accept from the West all material help which cannot be obtained locally but will allow no Western interference with its culture.

QATAR

The Shaykhdom of Qatar is much more primitive than either Bahrain or Kuwait. It consists of a great barren peninsula covering some 5,000 square miles with a population not exceeding 20,000, of which nearly half live at the capital, Dohah, on the east coast. The rest are found mostly in small villages near the east coast, and a few nomads inhabit the interior. There is very little fresh water and no cultivation to speak of. Until exploration for oil began, the people earned a bare subsistence by pearling and fishing. There was practically no education and no direct contact with the world outside the Persian Gulf and Arabia, and almost all the necessi-

ties of life were imported by country craft from Bahrain, Dubai, or the Persian Coast. The country had no attractions of any kind and still has none except for the profit to be made from oil.

An associate of the Iraq Petroleum Company, called originally Petroleum Development (Qatar) Limited and now known as the Qatar Petroleum Company, began operations in 1938. It is mainly under British management locally, but like the Iraq Petroleum Company includes American, French, and Dutch interests. Oil was found shortly before World War II, but as in Kuwait operations were closed down for the duration of the war. It took longer to get the field working again than in Kuwait, and the first shipment of oil did not take place until the last day of 1949. The field is a comparatively large one and the potentialities of the peninsula have not yet been fully explored. The rate of the royalty was originally fixed at Rs. 3 per ton, but in 1952 the company entered into a 50-50 profit-sharing agreement with the Ruler, as a result of which he is now receiving an income of about £5 million a year. The senior staff of the company is largely British but includes a few Americans. Indians, Persians, Pakistanis, Palestinians, and Lebanese are employed as clerks and artisans; the unskilled labor is for the most part local. The company has its headquarters at Dukhan, in the center of the oil field on the west coast of the peninsula about 60 miles from Dohah, but has developed a port at Umm Said on the east coast 19 miles south of Dohah.

In spite of the presence of the oil company, Qatar remained in a very backward condition until 1949. In that year the aged Ruler, Shaykh Abdullah, abdicated in favor of his eldest son, Shaykh 'Ali. The latter engaged a British Adviser, and a British Political Officer was appointed to Dohah. Since then steady progress has been made. An annual budget is produced, the oil revenues being allocated as in Kuwait on the basis of one-third to current expenditure, one-third to capital development, and one-third to a reserve. A law court has been established and justice is now properly administered instead of being left to the arbitrary decision of the Ruler. A fine police force has been built up under British officers, and the services of British doctors and engineers have been obtained. Fresh water has been piped to Dohah from wells at some distance from the town and a distillation plant, which is intended to supplement this supply and improve it for drinking purposes, has begun to function. A power house and primary school have been built and a fine state hospital is under construction. A new airport is shortly to be opened. Accommodation and offices have been built or are under construction for the state government's personnel. Dohah is not suitable for development as a port for ocean-going steamers, which cannot approach it nearer than about ten miles. Arrangements have therefore been made for cargo to be unloaded into barges at the oil company's port at Umm Said, where there is a sheltered deep water anchorage close

to the shore, and to be brought around by tug to Dohah, where the landing facilities have been greatly improved. This makes it possible to avoid the payment of transit dues in Bahrain and Dubai on goods intended for Qatar. The Shell Overseas Exploration Company, which holds the concession for Qatar off-shore oil, operating under the name of the Shell Company of Qatar, has sited its camp and installations in the immediate vicinity of Dohah, which is being gradually converted from a straggling half-ruined fishing village into a busy modern town.

Kuwait and Bahrain were commercial centers of some standing before the advent of oil, and there was a leaven of literacy amongst their populations and frequent contact with the outside world, but Qatar was almost completely untouched by modern influences. No proper school was established until 1950 and the bulk of the adult population is still illiterate. The indigenous population is made up of the ruling family, which is very numerous, two or three families of merchants, Arab tribesmen, and miscellaneous persons of slave descent or foreign origin who have long been settled in Qatar. Oil has brought an assured livelihood to all, but owing to the primitive state of society has had as yet no political effect beyond inducing the many members of the ruling family to agitate continuously for an increased share of the profits. The only internal trouble which the Ruler has to face at present arises from the ambitions of his relatives; it seems unlikely that any demand for popular reforms will arise for a generation.

Petroleum Development (Trucial Coast) Limited, another associate of the Iraq Petroleum Company, holds oil concessions in the Trucial States and has acquired off-shore oil rights in most of them. Wells have been drilled in two of the States but no oil has yet been found in commercial quantities. The Rulers' finances are assisted by the annual payments they receive and a few of the local people are employed by the oil company as guards or labor, but generally speaking economic conditions in the Trucial States are bad and many of the people have migrated to the oil-producing shaykhdoms and Saudi Arabia in search of employment. The increased contact with the West which the presence of oil company personnel has entailed has, however, had a civilizing effect. The States are still administered on partriarchal lines, but the Rulers are developing an increased sense of responsibility for the welfare of their people and there has been an improvement in the security of the area. The raising of a force of levies by the British government with the concurrence of the Rulers has contributed substantially to this. The States are all too poor to undertake much in the way of development, but with the assistance of the British government a hospital has been opened at Dubai, a new school has been built at Sharjah, and attempts are being made to develop the local water resources. American missionaries have also opened a dispensary at Sharjah and the Ruler of Kuwait has contributed financially toward local education.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In the oil-producing shaykhdoms the industry has led to all-round prosperity, a distinct but limited advance in education, and a greater knowledge and understanding of the Western way of life. There is employment for all, and in the towns the younger generation have acquired a smattering of English, including American slang. (In a remote corner of Bahrain my wife was greeted by a boy of ten with the words "Hello Baby," no disrespect being intended.) There has fortunately as yet been no attempt by the people at large to ape the Western way of life. They are all Muslims of the old school and stick to their religion, customs, and dress. They regard Europeans and Americans as infidels with outlandish habits but have learned to tolerate them and usually treat them with the greatest courtesy.

It will be clear from this that the oil industry and the contact with the West which it entails has had no demoralizing effect on the people at large. Morally they are neither better nor worse than they were before. The most that can be said is that those who wish to contravene the precepts of their religion by indulging in alcohol find liquor somewhat easier to obtain than they did before. There is nothing in the nature of a color bar in the shaykhdoms but there is a certain amount of racial segregation. The companies, with one exception, have fortunately located their camps at a distance from the main centers of population. The habits and outlook of the European or American and of the local Arab differ too widely for real intimacy between the two to be possible. In particular, the veil and the question of alcohol militate against the establishment of mixed clubs and constant social intercourse. It is better so for the present as closer contact might well lead to incidents and the embitterment of racial relations. As it is, each side treats the other with respect, and they get on well together when they meet at social functions and on other occasions, in spite of a certain feeling of constraint on both sides.

With possibly a few exceptions, none of the local population has any affection for foreigners from the West, but their presence is acceptable for the prosperity they have brought and there is little evidence of any strong anti-Western feeling. The ruling classes and intelligentsia, though disliking Western tutelage, put up with it because they realize that if Western support and protection were withdrawn they would almost certainly be absorbed by their more powerful neighbors and have to share their profits with them. How long this state of affairs will continue is difficult to say, but so long as the British, with American cooperation, show their ability and willingness to protect the shaykhdoms from external aggression there appears to be no good reason why there should be an early change. Should the British, as the result of another world war or otherwise, be compelled

to abandon their position in the Gulf it is unlikely that they would ever be able to recover it or that the United States or any other power would be able to take their place. Meanwhile, the shaykhdoms remain educationally backward and many years may well elapse before a class emerges capable of wresting power from the shaykhs and then of challenging the position of the British government and the oil companies.

It is, however, essential for the oil companies to adopt a liberal policy and to associate the local people as much as possible in their enterprise. They must do everything they can to make the exploitation of local resources by foreigners palatable. Their task is not an easy one, especially as the rulers themselves, fearing for their own position, are inclined to look askance at efforts by the companies to improve the social conditions of the people. The companies find themselves between the devil of the rulers from whom they hold their concessions and the deep sea of popular agitation. They are careful, therefore, to avoid entanglement in local politics, but maintain Arabic-speaking public relations officers to keep in touch with current developments while their managers maintain personal contact with the rulers. They do not go in much for publicity as there is little in the way of a local press. They are all under an obligation to employ local inhabitants to the greatest extent possible, and they do their best to honor this obligation, though as already stated there are as yet few of the local population who are fitted for any except unskilled or semiskilled jobs. They are doing much to educate their Arab labor and are for the most part constantly solicitous for their welfare. There are no trade unions, though this is a development that must be expected and accepted before long; however, the companies maintain welfare committees or similar organizations on which their Arab labor is represented, and opportunities are freely given for the airing of grievances and their investigation. It appears to be generally agreed by the companies that the Indians and other foreigners employed in skilled and clerical jobs must be replaced as soon as qualified Arabs become available, but it will be necessary in due course to go much further than this and to employ Arabs on the senior staff and associate them in the management, if demands for nationalization of the industry are to be avoided.

It must be kept constantly in mind that it is just over twenty years since oil was first produced in Bahrain and less than ten since the industry really got going in Kuwait and Qatar. Material results have been spectacular, but it is too early to assess the effects of this overwhelming and unexpected prosperity on the mentality of the people.

A ROLE IN SEARCH OF A HERO

A Brief Study of the Egyptian Revolution

John S. Badeau

IN HIS MUSINGS on the philosophy of the Revolution, Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir¹ speaks of a "role wandering aimlessly in search of a hero." It is clear that he is not thinking of himself as the strong man of Egypt's military junta, but of the Revolution as the instrument fulfilling the country's desperate need for cleansing and rebirth.

But is the Revolution proving itself such a hero? Foreign correspondents, reporting Egypt's third Independence Day celebrations on July 23, 1955, were impressed by the new military strength and efficient army organization displayed in the 5-hour parade through Independence Square in Cairo. Old residents, long calloused to Egypt's dilatory unfulfillment of grandiose plans, are amazed and encouraged by the rapid completion of public works after years of discussion and delay.

Yet it will take much more than efficient armed forces and dramatic urban face-lifting to convince the world that the Revolution is really fulfilling its objectives. The changes to be accomplished if Egypt is really to be cleansed and reborn go to the very roots of national life. It is not simply a question of more efficiency in the Department of Public Works or the Ministry of War, but of a true reformation that penetrates the whole structure of government and society. The Revolutionary Council is indeed committed to that reformation — but does it have the wisdom and power to embody the will in a practical and effective program?

NATURE OF THE REVOLUTION

The real question is, "Can Egypt's military junta transform its original coup d'état into an institutionalized and progressive revolutionary movement?" For what happened on July 23, 1952, was not a carefully conceived revolution guided by a prearranged master plan; it was, rather, a sudden seizure of power by a small group in revolt against the chaos and corruption of the ruling clique. "We seized power," writes Muhammad Nagib, "because we could no longer endure the humiliation to which we, along with the rest of the Egyptian people, were being subjected."²

¹ Gamal Abdul Nasser, *The Philosophy of the Revolution* (Washington, 1955), p. 87.

² Mohammed Naguib, *Egypt's Destiny* (New York, 1955), p. 15.

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As Nagib's account makes clear, that "humiliation" was more than the continued British occupation of Egypt and the Sudan and the government's futile attempts to end it. For while the British occupation has long been the single most conscious target of nationalist resentment and the popular symbol of all that is wrong with the country, it was by no means the sole source of the dissatisfaction out of which the coup d'état was born. In practically every level of Egyptian society there was mounting resentment against some facet of the old order. The army felt itself abandoned and betrayed in the arms scandal revealed after the Palestine war. Parliamentary leaders resented the increasing and inept interference of the Palace in political affairs and were disgusted with the King's personal life. The traditional political parties and their leaders were losing their hold on many middle-class youth, whose disillusionment with the good faith of party patriots was expressed through their enthusiasm for the Muslim Brotherhood. Among the common people of the village and bazaar there was unusually bitter resentment against the privileged position of Pasha and Palace, whose lip service to social betterment did little to check either personal extravagance or rising living costs. After the burning of Cairo in January 1952, Egypt was a solution of discontent, rapidly approaching the saturation point and awaiting only a precipitating agent to call forth violent change.

Thus the army group that finally seized power was not the basic cause of revolution but only its occasion. For the events in the spring of 1952 were such that the army was unconsciously (and perhaps inevitably) pushed into the role of the hero. First was the breakdown of the last vestiges of government stability, traditionally based on a balance of power between the Palace and Parliament. Between the sack of Cairo in January and the coup d'état of the following July, there were four cabinets, one remaining in office for only a few hours. The King's constant interference and the inability or unwillingness of party leaders either to master him or successfully counter his moves, made it appear that internal stability could only be restored if some new political force came to the fore. Here a second factor entered, for the only fresh political force, with the exception of the Muslim Brotherhood, was an organized group of officers within the army who had been thinking and talking of drastic action for some time. Still lacking clear objectives and a detailed plan for the reorganization of government, the "Free Officers" had an embryo organization which had access to the power necessary to bring about violent change. The completing factor lay in the King's challenge to army leadership, as expressed through his attempt to close the Officers' Club after the royal candidate for the presidency had been defeated by Muhammad Nagib. When it became clear that this defeat would lead the King to break up the "Free Officers" group, the members knew they must act decisively if their movement and possibly they themselves were to survive.

It was in part because the factors occasioning the coup d'état lay within the immediate horizon of army politics that its leaders erred so badly in envisioning their task and consequently suffered such sharp disillusion in what followed. 'Abd al-Nasir has been frank in recording this. He writes: "Before July 23rd I had imagined that the whole nation was ready and prepared, waiting for nothing but a vanguard to lead the charge against the battlements . . . the vanguard performed its task . . . and then paused waiting. For a long time it waited . . . but how different is the reality from the dream! . . . we needed order, but found nothing behind us but chaos. We needed unity, but found nothing behind us but dissension."³

RESTITUTION OF POLITICAL LIFE

If the Revolution is to prove itself something more than merely a "pause-waiting" in the long history of Egypt, it must provide some practical plan for leading Egypt out of its inchoate and undisciplined dissatisfaction to orderly reconstruction. To do this three major problems must be solved. The first is the reinstitution of an orderly and acceptable form of political life. Initially, the coup d'état was aimed at the overthrow of a corrupt and unstable government. As Nasir represents in the passage from which the quotation above is taken, little thought had been given as to what would replace the banished order. He speaks as though a new plan for national life would miraculously spring from the minds of the intelligentsia, like the fabled Egyptian phoenix arising from the ashes of its own death.

But no one in Egypt then knew, or seemingly yet knows, what the appropriate substitution for the discarded parliamentary monarchy really is. However unsatisfactory the actual operation of the old constitutional regime was, the ideal of parliamentary government still lives in important sections of Egyptian life. The whole of the older political class and the younger group that has been most influenced by Western thought are not ready permanently to relinquish this particular instrument of "democratic" rule. Among both the masses and the middle class which is arising from them, there is far less enthusiasm for parliaments — indeed, such movements as the Muslim Brotherhood have at times sharply repudiated the entire parliamentary system. One of the wisest and most perceptive of former Egyptian political leaders said recently, "Egypt's deepest desire is not so much for the reinstitution of Parliament as for a constitution that will ensure a rule of law rather than a rule of dictatorship or privilege. This feeling extends deep into the population and must be met if the present regime is to become permanent."

It is important to remember that in its inception the Revolution was not aimed at the destruction of democratic political institutions. In this it dif-

³ Abdul Nasser, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

ferred from recent European dictatorships, which were built on the rejection of the entire concept of free democratic political institutions — Mussolini's description of European democracy was that of a "putrid corpse." But it is not so with the officers who led the coup d'état. They overthrew the parliamentary regime because it seemed to them not really democratic, neither providing honest and efficient government nor representing the interests of the great masses of people.

It is significant that both the public and the Revolutionary Council have identified the Revolution as the continuation of the 'Arabi Pasha movement of 1882. This movement was essentially a protest of genuine Egyptian elements against the continuing domination of government by Turkish leaders and influence. In identifying itself with this movement, the Revolution is emphasizing its role as the spokesman of the "true" Egyptian as against the Pasha class led by an Albanian-descended monarch. This is more than a propaganda pose; at the beginning, at least, it represented a genuine and spontaneous feeling.

The first plan of the coup d'état was to provide an interim period during which the form and basis for a new parliamentary and constitutional rule could be formed. But this interim has stretched far beyond its first announced attempt and as yet shows no sure signs of coming to an end. It is true that the Revolutionary Council has recently announced its purpose of reinstituting Parliament early in 1956, but such promises were made earlier and failed of fulfillment because the regime did not dare risk its life at the hands of a popular assembly. It remains to be seen whether that risk can be safely taken next January — or whether both elections and Parliament will be only a façade for continued rule by the army junta.

In the first days of the Revolution, the monarchy was retained under the direction of a Council of Regents. At the time no one believed this to be a permanent solution and the country was quite ready for the announcement which came shortly abolishing the throne and setting up a republic to be based upon a constitution "to be so drafted as to realize the people's desire for clean and sound parliamentary government."⁴ A constitutional committee was appointed, but its work was scarcely under way before tensions within the Revolutionary Council and sharp disagreement between Muhammad Nagib and Gamal 'Abd al-Nasir came to a head. In the crisis that followed, Nagib was shorn of real power by being moved up to the Presidency of the Republic, leaving the way clear for Nasir to continue the dictatorship for at least a three-year period of transition.

At the root of this struggle was far more than a conflict of individual personalities and ambitions. The Egyptian informant quoted above has said, "The real opposition between Nagib and 'Abd al-Nasir came from

⁴ Radio address by Muhammad Nagib, Dec. 10, 1952.

the fact that the former is an elder conservative looking to the past, while the latter is a true revolutionary looking to the future. Nagib thought it was enough to abolish the monarchy without abolishing the political institution in which it was set. Nasir and his supporters believed that a total revolution was necessary in the life of the country."

The depth of this difference is found in the answers given to the question, "How rapidly can Egypt be returned to constitutional life?" Nagib thought the transfer could be accomplished quickly, but Nasir and his group saw the situation more realistically. They believed that to move precipitously would be to return the country to the same forces that had led it under the old regime, with the consequent loss of all the Revolution hoped to accomplish. Caught between continuing the Revolution through dictatorship and restoring constitutional life with the possible ending of the Revolution, they chose dictatorship.

This decision was probably sound, for there are still serious weaknesses in the political structure and practices of Egypt which make a return to parliamentary rule difficult. Even under the constitutional monarchy, Parliament rarely acted as the constitution had intended. Elections were often "controlled" and cabinets rose and fell with little regard to their majority position in Parliament. The fact that between 1922 and 1952 the average life of a cabinet was slightly less than a year and a half is proof of the fact that the parliamentary system was not working as designed.

DOMESTIC POLITICAL RELATIONS

Moreover, the old party leaders have shown an understandable recalcitrance in surrendering their power to the new regime. In the early days of the coup d'état, the Revolutionary Council hoped that traditional party life could be purged of its weakness and corruption and made over into a political instrument for carrying out the Revolutionary aims. But in the first months of the new regime there was a Wafd-inspired attempt to unseat the Revolutionary Council through a plot involving both students and the army. Here was clear proof that this powerful and popular party was still unrepentant and hostile. An early popular election for Parliament would have undoubtedly resuscitated the Wafd, which might well make common cause with other political malcontents against the new regime.

The only way to offset this threat would be to develop a "Revolutionary party" that could outvote older parties at the poll. This would mean not only creating village level organizations for controlling the peasants, but penetrating the middle class, whose political influence has always been more decisive than that of the fellahin masses. Yet it is precisely in the middle class that there is a real attachment to "government by constitution" as mentioned by the Egyptian informant above. Consequently the Revolution-

ary Council has thus far been unable to effect a political party enjoying sufficient popular support to ensure the election of a pro-Revolutionary government.

Moreover, to relax dictatorial controls and to return to free elections runs the risk of releasing certain extremist political groups. Chief of these is the Muslim Brotherhood, the radical Islamic organization that has threatened Egyptian life ever since it accomplished the murder of Prime Minister Nuqrashi Pasha in 1948. In the first days of the Revolution, this group took a neutralist or slightly benevolent attitude toward the new regime, believing that the destruction of Palace and Parliament would sweep out of the way a barrier to its own rise to power. It also hoped to penetrate the Revolution for its own purposes, since many who supported the latter movement had earlier been identified with the Brotherhood, which then offered the only alternative to the old party system.

But as the Revolution progressed, it became clear that its leaders did not intend to base their program on the Brotherhood's principles of reviving the traditional Islamic state. It was differences on this point that early led to the removal of Colonel Muhanna, who was one of the original Officers' group, from the Regency. As the Revolution moved more in the direction of the Western pattern of dictatorship, the Muslim Brotherhood turned in open opposition upon it. This struggle reached its climax with the attempted assassination of 'Abd al-Nasir in the fall of 1954, giving the Revolutionary Council a justifiable reason to turn on the Brotherhood with force and break up its leadership. At the present time the Brotherhood seems to have passed the peak of its power but its threat is still sufficiently strong to have made Nasir take special precautions during his trip to the Bandung Conference, when there was a threat that the Brotherhood might pursue and assassinate him there.

Perhaps more basic than either of these conditions is the fact that the Revolution has not been able to uncover enough political talent which it trusts. Its problem is to substitute for the rule of army officers a permanent organization of government administration into whose hands the institutionalization of revolutionary aims can be placed. For if the ideals sought by the present regime are to become the basis of permanent political life, there must be a cadre of civil officials and intellectual leaders who are able to indigenize the Revolution in the structure of ministerial and parliamentary government. But many of those whose training and ability fit them to do this have been banned by the new regime because of their past political records and loyalty. Still others have been ruled out because of their extremist connections (Muslim Brotherhood and Communists) or a record of corruption and misuse of office. The remaining group contains some very able men whose early sympathies were with the Revolution, which they

served with sincerity. But in the struggle between Nasir and Nagib some of these took the "elder conservative" side of Nagib as against the more impatient and revolutionary plans of Nasir. Thus are lost to the Revolutionary Council some of the ablest and most balanced potential political leaders in the country. The group that is left still contains some able men, but it is not yet large enough to replace the present military staff that increasingly is called upon to administer the affairs of state. In the cabinet change after Nagib was forced out of the Presidency and permanently removed from leadership, the number of military cabinet officers increased, largely because there was no one else the Council could trust to accept its orders and carry out its plan.

Thus the institution of a new constitution and the renewal of genuine parliamentary life are still a long way off, despite the recent announcement of elections. Yet the continuation of military dictatorship cannot bring permanent stability to the country. In the end Egypt will only be secure if, like Turkey, it can make a strong man's rule pass into genuine parliamentary life.

PROBLEMS IN FOREIGN RELATIONS

The second major concern of the Revolution is that of foreign relations. This question has long been at the heart of the country's instability. Like an individual with an important and continuously unsolved problem, a nation at whose center is a major impasse exhibits all the symptoms of schizophrenia. Egypt's waves of popular hysteria and cabinet change reflect in part its continuous inability to come to grips with the cold fact of the British occupation, which for over seventy years has festered in the heart of the country's national awakening.

In meeting this problem, the Revolution has been fairly successful. With the removal of the King, the embarrassment of his title "King of the Sudan" quietly slipped away, and the Council could start negotiations with a relatively clean slate. The result was a reasonably acceptable solution of the Sudan question, and an undoubted Egyptian victory on the Suez Canal Zone. The Sudan will probably turn out to be more independent and less pro-Egyptian than the Revolutionary negotiators hoped, but the process of emancipation is now under way and hardly can be reversed. In the Canal Zone, the departure of British troops is actually taking place — a sight that compensates national feeling for the tenuous rights given Great Britain in return.

But Britain's departure does not mean that Egypt's foreign policy problems are at an end. The country is too strategically located ever to escape the net of world involvement. As an Egyptian friend said recently, "Any realistic view of our situation makes it clear that geography has settled once and for all whether or not we will be involved. That is not the

question; our problem is 'to be involved — but with whom and for what purpose?'. ”

“For what purpose” is quite plain in the light of the current world situation. Recent Russian warnings have made it clear that the Middle East is a sensitive area for it and that Soviet leaders have no illusions as to the purpose of Western policy there. In any Russian program of penetration, control, or attack, Egypt will be a major target. As a regime of military leadership, the Revolutionary Council seems to be more realistically aware of this than either the discarded Palace or Parliament. But the question “with whom to be involved” is still unsolved, and perhaps immediately insolvable. For the time being, by the natural desire for leadership, the momentum of past policy, continued irritation over the existence of Israel, and the rising bloc consciousness of the East, Egypt officially still looks to its connections with the Arab League to provide the answer.

Inherent in that answer is the illusory hope of neutralism, recently expounded as Egypt's rebuttal to Iraq's defense pact with Turkey. In the Iraqi action, Egypt reads a covert attack by the Western world on the Arab League and Egypt's own position as a leader among the Arab states. In attempting to rally Saudi Arabia and Syria to its side, Egypt is using both the dynastic rivalry of the Saudis and the anti-Western feeling of Syria to support its position. Yet it is unlikely that Egyptian-Syrian-Saudi Arabian cooperation will be sufficiently strong to stop, indefinitely, other Arab states from following Iraq's lead. Should this drift occur, Egypt will imperil its position of leadership by clinging to a discarded instrument.

Moreover, if the Egyptian defense of the Suez Canal Zone is to be what Egypt desires and the West hopes, army equipment and personnel will need to be expanded — and the surest (and cheapest) way of doing this is through a pro-Western connection. It is therefore not surprising that behind the façade of public foreign policy pronouncements, Egyptian leaders should admit privately that Egypt's interests lie in the direction of cooperation with the West. Two immediate difficulties prevent the public admission of this fact. One is the renewed border conflict with Israel, occasioned in part by that country's policy of armed retaliation for border incidents. The last few months have revived in Egypt all the fears of an expanding Israel and have given the government an issue ideally calculated to win internal support. The other is the fact that there is still enough political opposition to the Revolutionary regime to make the government shy away from entering a defense pact with the West, even should it desire to do so. Like the United States government in relation to Red China, the Egyptian government can scarcely risk the internal political opposition that would surely be engendered by such a move. The successful negotiations with Britain over

the Canal Zone gave the Muslim Brotherhood a cause on which to fight the government — a cause which missed success by the narrow margin of an excited assassin's bullet. To enter into a pro-Western alliance now would provide a focus for all the bitter-end opposition to the Revolution among extremists and old-time party leaders alike. Once more an Egyptian government must walk the tightrope of foreign policy with grave risk of a slip that would end the performance.

Unlike the problem of reinstituting parliamentary life, this question involves more than the actions of the present Egyptian government. Pressures from sister Arab states and the defense policies of Great Britain and the United States are factors in the situation that will influence the final decision. If the question of international alignment can be eased or held in abeyance while the Revolution strengthens its political and social position, it may be possible to work out a policy of pro-Western cooperation in the future. But if the pressure is such that the present government must continue to live in a foreign policy impasse, the result will be the same kind of tension and instability that has been all too familiar in the past.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

The third problem confronting the Revolution lies in the difficulties of implementing its announced social program. This program was not (as so often in the past) adopted principally to gain popular support or keep the common masses quiet. It grows out of a basic constituent in the situation which first precipitated the coup d'état. Corruption, misgovernment, bribery, tax evasion, rising prices — these were all the concomitants of a landlord-dominated society that used its position of natural political leadership for its own enrichment. Despite the considerable amount of social legislation enacted by Parliament in recent years, the basic social problems of the country were largely untouched. The Revolution could only succeed if its political change could be undergirded by social regeneration, providing a new soil in which to establish a new government.

The accomplishments of the Revolution in this field are considerable. One week after the coup d'état, all titles were abolished — a move which struck deep at the recognition of class privilege. This was quickly followed by the land limitation law, forbidding any single owner to hold more than 200 feddans (acres) of arable land. A minimum wage for agricultural workers was established, and a "winter relief" campaign for helping the poor during the cold months was instituted. In the last budget (1954-55), £E 60 million (\$173,922,000) was allocated to social development and the increase of production. Under this program health services have been increased in the villages, the reclamation and improvement of agricultural land commenced, primary education extended, cereal and animal production enlarged, and some social work started in industrial areas.

These services are supervised by two of the Revolution's most effective groups of national leaders — the National Resources Development Board and the National Production Council. It is planned that these organizations will spend approximately £E 200 million (\$574 million) during the first half of the recently adopted "10-year plan" for social and economic betterment.

All this looks good on paper, but will it work and will it be carried out? Of all the Arab countries, Egypt's social problems are probably the most desperate and the most difficult to solve. A rapidly growing population, severely limited arable land, a social system deeply rooted in the long centuries of the past, a precarious source of foreign exchange (cotton), a government untried and inexperienced in the delicate business of social legislation — these are formidable barriers that the Revolution must surmount.

Not least in their surmounting lies the problem of finance. Egypt's chief source of prosperity is its cotton. One of the strongest indictments brought against the old Wafd government was its rigging of the cotton market, to the benefit of party officials. While the Revolutionary Council has been able to stop this practice, it has not thereby restored cotton prosperity to the country. Not only has the cotton market been affected by general world conditions, but recent American agricultural policy has constituted a serious threat to Egyptian markets. Because of the U.S. policy of agricultural price support, large amounts of American cotton have been dumped at low prices in foreign countries that were formerly Egypt's customers. This has naturally led to a loss of Egyptian sales and has presented the government with a problem whose only solution seems to be to find new markets. But new markets are principally in the Communist bloc countries; it is therefore not strange that Egyptian trade behind the Iron Curtain has suddenly increased. In 1953-54 approximately 8 percent of Egypt's cotton export went to Communist countries, but in 1954-55 this had risen to 22 percent. Now a new deal with Red China will increase even this figure. Gradually Egypt is moving away from the United Kingdom as its most important cotton customer in favor of these new markets. While the basic cause of this shift does not lie in political sympathies, it is inevitable that the growth of Communist trade should be reflected in a similar growth of Egyptian concern for freer access to the Communist world. This is the basic reason why 'Abd al-Nasir is developing a sympathetic attitude toward Red China and will probably stand with Asiatic leaders in supporting Red China's pressure for a seat in the United Nations.

A further financial problem lies in the necessity of obtaining funds to support the urgently needed program of developing more arable land. As already noted, one of the Revolution's earliest moves was to limit individual land ownership and to distribute the lands thus released to the

peasantry. Up to April 14, 1955, the government had distributed 105,000 acres of land and private landowners had sold an additional 95,000 acres which are available for distribution. Yet even when this land distribution scheme is completed, only some 150,000 peasant proprietors (representing perhaps 1 million individuals) will benefit, leaving a large number of landless fellahin to grumble against the government. Land reclamation projects are under way, the principal one being the newly created "Liberation Province" on the edge of the Western Desert. But these projects, based upon improved drainage and the use of ground water, can add only a small fraction of increase to the 3 percent of the country that through history has been capable of cultivation.

The Revolution's real answer is the "High Dam" scheme of Aswan, which, if instituted, will increase Egypt's tillable acreage by about 30 percent as well as produce large amounts of electrical power. But the total cost of this plan is approximately £E 180 million (\$516,600,000), of which a fair amount must be in foreign currency to enable the country to purchase the necessary machinery and pay the foreign contractors. This will require a large loan from foreign sources, but the International Bank has thus far been unwilling to make the loan, partly because it is not yet convinced of the permanent stability of the regime, and partly because Egypt and the Sudan (whose territory would be flooded by the project) have been unable to reach any agreement on the use of water.

The Revolutionary Council's solution to this situation is a policy that threatens severely to inflate Egyptian currency. To provide some of the money needed for the High Dam and to support cotton prices, the government has recently announced two loans. The first is an external loan of £E 100 million to be secured by using British Treasury Notes and gold reserve as collateral. The second loan is for £E 200 million pounds to be raised internally, with Treasury Certificates issued by the National Bank of Egypt as cover. There has been violent opposition to both of these loans by the financial leaders of Egypt, for their practical result would be to increase the amount of money in circulation by approximately one-third, thus inducing a dangerous rise in prices. To be rid of the opposition, the Revolutionary Council recently issued a decree whose operation removed from the directorate of the National Bank of Egypt those senior members opposing government policy. These have been replaced by new appointees amenable to the Revolution's wishes and ready to carry out a dangerous policy of inflation. The immediate result has been a flight of capital; almost overnight stock prices shot up and wealthy Egyptians began to transform their cash into any consumer goods that could be purchased.

This situation not only illustrates the financial dangers faced by the regime in carrying out a drastic social program, but reveals how lacking

the government is in having access to, or taking advantage of, sound advice. Because of sensitivity to possible political opposition and impatience with the slower and sounder methods of development, the Revolutionary Council all too easily isolates itself from the best foreign and national judgment. Of the sincerity of its social intentions there can be no question; the real problem lies in uncovering and being willing to listen to those who know that social reform cannot be accomplished merely by giving a military order.

This spirit of haste is itself a formidable problem. In a recent interview with foreign correspondents, Nasir described himself as a "man in a hurry." His explanation is "the longer I take to do things the less time I will have to accomplish them." For when a hero assays to fill a role, heroic actions are expected of him. Dispossessed landlords may accept the loss of their properties if obvious and irrefutable national good comes from it — immediately. The common masses will support the Revolution if it can carry out in short order at least some earnest of social improvement. But what the Revolution envisions will take at least a generation to accomplish — and neither landlords nor peasants will wait that long.

It is such pressures that have made the Revolutionary Council in recent months turn to some of the more dramatic features of its social program. Cairo shows amazing changes since 'Abd al-Nasir took control in March 1954. The trams are gone from many streets; Liberation Square, in the heart of the city, has been completed and beautified; the corniche along the Nile (planned for the last twenty years) was constructed in a few weeks time, complete with trees and flowers. Now the new middle-class suburb on the Mokattam Hills (again planned for some years) is under way and is to be completed within the year.

Such projects are worthy in their own right and are a symbol that the Revolutionary regime is really doing something. But if they become the substitute for the more difficult, complicated, and basic changes that must be made, the popular support for the Revolution will be hard to maintain. As seldom before, new energies have been awakened and new enthusiasms created in Egypt. To harness these to the wisdom and patience that alone can accomplish the social regeneration of the nation is the yet unsolved task.

A competent observer of Middle Eastern affairs recently remarked, "The trouble with Egypt is that she is trying to undergo three revolutions at once: the American Revolution to run out the Redcoats; the French Revolution to depose a King and build a Republic; and the Social Revolution — to remake an entire economy." It will take a very large hero indeed to fulfill such a multiform role.

ADMINISTRATION AND LEGAL DEVELOPMENT IN ARABIA

Aden Colony and Protectorate

Herbert J. Liebesny

THE RIM AREA of the Arabian Peninsula under British control offers considerable variation in administrative and legal development. This is true of the British as well as the local administration and can be ascribed to historical and economic reasons. For example, the town of Aden, as an important way station on the route to India, was tied more closely into the fabric of the British Empire and developed more rapidly than its hinterland. Even though India has become independent, Aden, reorganized as a Crown Colony in 1937, has maintained its importance as a bunkering port, an importance which has been enhanced by the recent construction of a large oil refinery. The British position in the Persian Gulf was originally established to pacify the eastern coast of the Arabian Peninsula and to prevent the occupation of any parts of that coast by a potentially hostile power. The principalities of the Persian Gulf, which had been brought into special treaty relations with the United Kingdom, assumed a new significance with the discovery of large oil resources in the region. Until recently these areas were almost totally removed from the mainstream of Western influence; in some of them the Western impact has been sudden, while others are to this day relatively isolated from it.¹

ADEN COLONY

The fundamental law for the Crown Colony of Aden is the Order in Council of September 28, 1936, which follows the usual lines of basic legislation for British colonies.² Only the basic legislation is enacted by the Crown. Ordinary legislation is enacted locally in the form of "Ordinances enacted by the Governor of the Colony of Aden." In the exercise of his legislative and executive functions, the Governor is assisted by an Executive

¹ An outline of the historical development of the British position in the rim areas of the Arabian Peninsula is given in Herbert J. Liebesny, "International Relations of Arabia: The Dependent Areas," *Middle East Journal*, vol. 1 (April, 1947), pp. 148-68.

² *Statutory Rules and Orders*, 1936, pp. 1-17.

*HERBERT J. LIEBESNY has made a special study, over a number of years, of legal problems and developments in the Middle East. Much of the present study is based on personal observation made during a research trip to the Arabian Peninsula in the summer of 1954. The author wishes to express his sincerest thanks to local and British officials in the various countries visited for their assistance.

Administration and legal developments in the shaykhdoms of the Persian Gulf will be discussed in a second article to appear in the Winter 1956 issue of THE MIDDLE EAST JOURNAL.

Council and a Legislative Council. The Executive Council consists of the Chief Secretary, the Attorney General, and other persons whom the Queen or the Governor, upon instructions from the British Government, may appoint. As of April 1954, the Executive Council consisted of a total of five members and the Governor as chairman.³ The functions of the Executive Council are purely advisory.

The Legislative Council was created by the Aden Colony (Amendment) Order in Council of 1944.⁴ It is composed of 16 members: (1) 4 ex officio members: the Air Officer Commanding, British Forces, Aden; the Chief Secretary; the Attorney General; and the Financial Secretary; (2) 4 official members, that is, persons employed by the Crown; and (3) 8 unofficial members, that is, persons residing in the Colony of Aden but not employed by the Crown. All members of the Legislative Council are appointed, and among the 8 unofficial members are representatives from various groups composing the population of the city of Aden, particularly the British, Arab, and Indian communities. Aden is at the present time one of the few British Crown Colonies where the Legislative Council is still purely appointive, and there has been considerable local demand for the election of unofficial members, as was projected for a future date when the Council was originally set up. Early in 1955 a proposal was made by the Governor to the British Government under which four of the unofficial members would be elected. This is in line with the British policy of introducing gradually a larger measure of self-government into Aden Colony.

The Legislative Council is presided over by the Governor and passes upon all legislation to be enacted for the Colony. The members of the Legislative Council have legislative initiative except in matters concerning taxation or involving the suspension of any or all Orders in Council enacted for the Colony of Aden. All measures passed by the Legislative Council are subject to an absolute veto of the Governor and the Council's power does not extend to the Protectorate.

Three local government bodies exist in the Colony. One of them is the Aden Municipality, which covers the wards of Tawahi, Ma'alla, and Crater. The Municipal Council consists of 15 members, of whom 6 are elected; of the rest, 3 are official nominated members and 6 unofficial nominated members.⁵ The second local government body is the Township Authority of Sheikh Othman, which comprises the suburb of that name, located on the road from Aden to Little Aden and Lahej, and several small coastal villages. Nearly all of the inhabitants of this township are non-Europeans. All members of the Sheikh Othman Township Authority are nominated: there are 3 official members and 1 Arab and 1 European non-official member. The third township authority, and the most recent, is

³ Aden Colony and Protectorate, *Senior Staff List*, revised to April 1, 1954.

⁴ *Statutory Rules and Orders*, 1944, pp. 1ff.

⁵ Government Notices #22 and 23 based on the Municipal Ordinance no. 10 of 1953.

Little Aden. This barren promontory has assumed importance recently as the location of the new oil refinery of the British Petroleum Company and boasts a considerable population. The township authorities and the Aden Municipality are charged with the supervision of municipal services, such as market control, sanitary services, maintenance and improvement of roads, and the provision of recreational facilities. The whole system of local administrations is under the control of a District Commissioner, who is president of the Aden Municipal Council and of the township authorities. The Colony of Aden also includes the island of Perim, which is administered by the Police Commissioner in Aden.

The executive branch of the Colony Government is rather well-developed. In addition to the Secretariat, it comprises a number of departments whose heads and key officials are for the most part British and members of the Overseas Service. The introduction of local personnel into the executive departments of the Colony is a slow process, largely owing to the lack of trained personnel and the diversity of the Colony's population.

The judicial administration in the Colony is likewise in British hands. The Supreme Court of Aden, which has unlimited original jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases, is staffed by one judge. A Court of Small Causes has limited jurisdiction in civil cases. It is staffed by a Chief Magistrate and one other magistrate. Three Magistrate's Courts, in Crater, Tawahi, and Sheikh Othman, have limited jurisdiction in criminal cases. Appeal from the Aden Supreme Court lies in the East African Court of Appeal, from where appeals can be taken to Her Majesty's Privy Council in London. The law applied in Aden is still largely the law of British India. However, it has been recognized that particularly in penal cases the old Indian codes are not satisfactory, being cumbersome and not well-adapted to Aden's special needs. A new and simplified Criminal Procedure Ordinance was therefore enacted in 1953, and a new Penal Code is in preparation. The ordinances in force in Aden were collected and published as "The Laws of Aden" in 1945. However, much legislation of importance has been enacted since then; moreover, the collection did not contain the Indian legislation applicable in the Colony. A new project is at present under way to collect all legislation applicable in Aden and present it in one systematic collection.

While the judge of the Supreme Court, the Chief Magistrate, and Divisional Magistrates are British, the subordinate court personnel is mostly Indian. The language of the courts is English, but some of the members of the judiciary and other court personnel speak Arabic. The language problem tends to make court procedure cumbersome, particularly in criminal cases, where the judge and prosecutor usually have to ask questions through an interpreter who also translates the answers. The possibilities of misunderstanding are always there and the system limits the application

of such procedural tools as cross-examination. There is a bar in Aden, most of whose members are Indian.

Following the British-Indian tradition, there are no shari'a courts in the Colony. All suits, including those dealing with the personal status and inheritance of Muslims, are entertained in the ordinary secular courts of the Colony. While there is a qadi, he has no judicial functions and acts merely as a registrar of marriages. Substantively, the application of shari'a law is limited to personal status, inheritance, law of *waqfs* (Muslim pious foundations), and the right of "pre-emption," an institution of Islamic law which gives co-owners of a property the right to buy a share put up for sale at the same price that any outsider offers. The school of Islamic law prevalent in Aden, the Colony as well as the Protectorate, is the Shafi'i. As in other Muslim countries, some institutions of shari'a law have been regulated by special statutes. In Aden these ordinances follow for the most part Indian prototypes.

J. N. D. Anderson has pointed out that the absence of shari'a courts is the cause of some dissatisfaction in the Colony. The application of shari'a law by British judges was common in British India. However, in Aden the situation is complicated by the dominance of the Shafi'i school of law. Since in India the dominant school was the Hanafi, the Aden judiciary is deprived of the aid of the many textbooks and case reports which were at the disposal of the judges in India. The number of textbooks on Shafi'i law, particularly in English, is very small; furthermore, there are relatively few cases based on points of Shafi'i law.⁶

The administration of the Colony thus follows the pattern of British Crown Colonies in general. Compared with other British possessions the development toward self-government and greater local participation in governmental affairs has been relatively slow, but beginnings have been made. It can be expected that the general development of the Colony and its prosperity will be greatly stimulated by the new oil refinery.

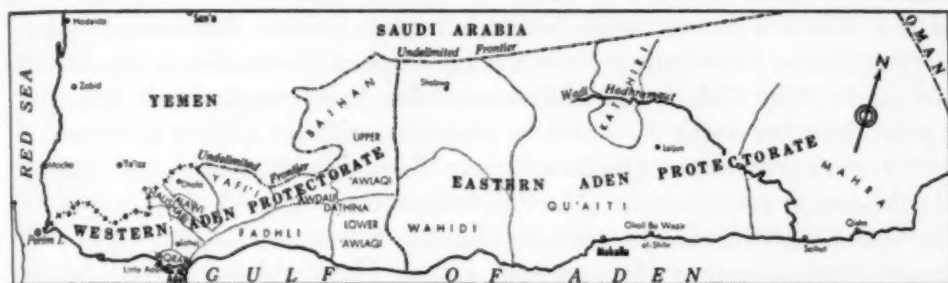
THE WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

The hinterland of Aden, which stretches from the borders of the Colony to the frontiers of Oman and is divided for administrative purposes into an Eastern and Western Protectorate, has a completely different administrative structure from that of the Colony. Here British endeavors have been concentrated on the modernization of the existing structure rather than its replacement by Western institutions. Historically, this difference in treatment of a coastal area important for strategic or other reasons and its hinterland, whose control and pacification are needed for the security of the coastal region, has been typical of British colonial policy and administration. The coastal area, where a British settlement developed,

⁶ J. N. D. Anderson, *Islamic Law in Africa* (London, 1954), pp. 35-36.

was administered directly by British officials. The hinterland was regarded as a so-called "colonial protectorate." There the existing administrative structure was left intact so far as was compatible with British needs and objectives concerning security and orderly government. The local rulers were normally brought into treaty relationships with the British Crown.

This has been the pattern followed in the Aden Protectorate. However, developments have been quite different in the two parts of the Protectorate, the Western and the Eastern. The Western Aden Protectorate is in general less advanced than the Eastern. It consists of a large number of sultanates and shaykhdoms of various sizes and in different stages of administrative



and political development. Under the treaties concluded with most of the important local rulers during the 19th and 20th centuries, British protection was extended to these rulers, who in turn promised not to enter into relations with any foreign government without British consent, or to dispose of any part of their territory in favor of any power other than Great Britain. Most of the rulers were granted stipends by the British; in case they did not comply with the treaty provisions, withdrawal of the stipend could be used to keep them in line.⁷

A new development started in 1937 when an advisory treaty was concluded between the British Government and the Sultan of Shihr and Mukalla in the Hadhramaut, Eastern Aden Protectorate, supplementing the earlier protectorate treaty. With it the Aden Protectorate began to follow a pattern established earlier in the Unfederated Malay States, to which the Hadhramaut has close cultural ties. After World War II similar advisory treaties began to be concluded with states in the Western Aden Protectorate. The first was that with the Sharif of Baihan, concluded on March 22, 1944. In it the Sharif reaffirmed the treaties entered into by himself and his predecessors for himself and his successors and declared that he would "at all times cooperate fully and accept the advice of the Governor of Aden in all matters connected with the welfare and development of the territory of Baihan and its dependencies." He further under-

⁷ The texts of the agreements concluded up to 1933 are contained in India Foreign and Political Department, *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, edited by C. U. Aitchison (Delhi 1933), vol. 11.

took to participate in the costs of agricultural, social, and security services in Baihan. In return the British Government undertook to abide by all treaties and agreements concluded with the Sharif of Baihan and to assist Baihan with advice.⁸ As of the end of 1954, advisory treaties of this nature had been concluded, in addition to Baihan, with the Upper 'Awlaqi Shaykh, the Lower 'Awlaqi Sultan, the 'Awdhali Sultan, the Fadhli Sultan, the Lower Yafi'i Sultan, the Sultan of Lahej, the Amir of Dhala, and the Saqladi Shaykh of the Sha'ibi.⁹

These advisory treaties have opened the way for some political, economic, and social development in the Western Aden Protectorate, where such development is still very restricted. The British advisory organization in the Western Protectorate is headed by a British Resident Adviser, Western Aden Protectorate, who has his office at Khormaksar, the British airbase in Aden Colony. The Western Aden Protectorate itself has been divided into five areas for advisory purposes, with an adviser stationed in each area: northeastern (Baihan, Upper 'Awlaqi Sultanate, Upper 'Awlaqi Shaykhdom); southeastern ('Awdali Sultanate, Lower 'Awlaqi Sultanate, Dathina Confederation); central (Fadhli Sultanate, Lower Yafi'i Sultanate); southwestern (Sultanate of Lahej, Haushabi Sultanate, 'Aqrabi Shaykhdom, and 'Alawi Shaykhdom); and northwestern (Amirate of Dhala, Sha'ibi Shaykhdom, Maflahi Shaykhdom, Radfan Shaykhdom). These areas thus include units with which no advisory treaties, and in some cases, such as the Radfan, not even a protectorate treaty, have been concluded. The reason why no treaties have been concluded with small units appears to be the feeling on the part of the British administration that separate treaties with small units would perpetuate the excessive fragmentation of the Western Aden Protectorate which the British are trying to eliminate.

The most developed unit in the Western Aden Protectorate, one which in many respects is in a class by itself, is the Sultanate of Lahej. Bordering on the Colony of Aden, it is ruled by a forward-looking Sultan who is the paramount ruler of the Western Aden Protectorate. Lahej is the only state in the Aden Protectorate which has a written constitution.¹⁰ Enacted in 1951, it establishes Lahej as an Arab, Muslim Sultanate. Islam is the state religion and the laws of Lahej are based on it. Arabic is the official language of the Sultanate. The legislative power is vested in the Sultan and a Legislative Council of 21 members which must pass on all legislation. All members of the Legislative Council are appointed for a period of two

⁸ Text in Doreen Ingrams, *A Survey of Social and Economic Conditions in the Aden Protectorate* (Government Printer, British Administration, Eritrea, n.d.), pp. 178-79.

⁹ Cf. Doreen Ingrams, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-72. Mrs. Ingram's data are valid as of 1946.

¹⁰ My sincerest thanks are due to Mr. Arthur Watts, then British Adviser in Lahej, for providing me with an English translation of the Lahej Constitution and other legal materials from the Sultanate.

years, but the constitution provides that the system shall be changed to an elective one when and if such is thought advisable. The Council must include representatives of the royal family, the notables, the tribes, and the common people. The Sultan may dissolve the Legislative Council, but not twice for the same reason.

The Constitution stipulates that neither the Sultan nor any of the descendants of Muhsin Fadhl has the right to appoint an heir apparent. This right is vested in the Legislative Council. The executive functions are vested in a Council of Directors, the members of which are singly and collectively responsible to the Sultan as well as the Legislative Council. The Constitution also contains a catalogue of civil rights and guarantees for the independence of the judiciary. It thus follows rather modern Western lines and is generally patterned after constitutions of the cabinet government type prevalent among European and Near Eastern countries. In a country such as Lahej, a relatively elaborate, written constitution may appear premature. However, it can provide a useful framework for the political development of the country.

For administrative purposes the Sultanate is divided into the capital and four districts, each headed by a *na'ib* (lit. deputy, a title used for the provincial governor in both the Western and Eastern Protectorate). Lahej differs also in its judicial organization from the other states in the Western Protectorate. Shari'a courts have been in existence considerably longer here, and the administration of justice has been regulated by a decree of April 2, 1949, which was based upon Egyptian prototypes. The decree established a court of general jurisdiction in the capital and courts of limited jurisdiction in the capital and the districts. The general court has a bench of three qadis, whereas the courts of limited jurisdiction are single qadi courts. According to the decree, the law to be applied by these courts is, in addition to the decree itself, the preponderant opinion of the Shafi'i rite unless there is a law setting forth special rules to be followed by the court in the case before it.¹¹ This provision is reminiscent of those contained in modern codes of the Arab states, which as a rule also give the statutory provision precedence over the writings of the classical jurists. Furthermore, the most authoritative Shafi'i opinion may be discarded if that is necessary in the interest of justice and public welfare, and a weaker Shafi'i opinion or the opinion of another school substituted. In that case the Sultan must, however, appoint a committee to decide what view should be adopted.¹² The decree contains a number of other interesting provisions and has aroused considerable controversy in Lahej.¹³

In addition to the shari'a courts there are agricultural courts in Lahej,

¹¹ Article 98.

¹² Article 99.

¹³ See J. N. D. Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

which are regulated by a decree of September 27, 1950, and have jurisdiction in agricultural matters. They consist of a bench of three judges with experience in customary law and agricultural problems. So-called '*urfiya*' (customary law) courts also exist in Lahej, but they play a lesser role than elsewhere in the Western Protectorate.

In the other states of the Western Protectorate we find a varying degree of administrative organization and central control. In general, the pattern is that of subdividing the states into several districts, each headed by a *qa'im*. In many of the states there is one *na'ib* who is the head of the central administration, and several have state councils. Qadi's courts exist in most of the states, but these are of rather recent vintage and do not have criminal jurisdiction, which is still in the hands of the *hakim 'urfi* (customary law judge).¹⁴

The role of the British advisers in the states of the Western Aden Protectorate tends to be more that of the administrator than the adviser because of the low status of administrative development. However, in some of the areas in the Western Protectorate there is very little constituted authority beyond the local tribal one, and the main effort of the British authorities is still concentrated upon the maintenance of security. The fragmentation of the Western Aden Protectorate into many small units raises numerous problems. However, attempts to bring these various sultanates and shaykhdoms into a federation so far have not made much progress.¹⁵

THE EASTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE¹⁶

The Eastern Protectorate offers a strong contrast to the Western Protectorate. Its cultural contacts with India, Indonesia, and Malaya have given the cities and towns of the Hadhramaut a fascination all their own. The Eastern Protectorate contains the two best organized states of the Aden hinterland: the Qu'aiti state of Shihr and Mukalla, and the Kathiri State of Say'un. Both have advisory treaties with the British, that of the Qu'aiti Sultanate being the first ever concluded. The Wahidi sultans in the west of the Protectorate and the Mahra Sultan of Qishn and Socotra in the east also have advisory treaties with the British, but little development has as yet taken place, particularly in the very remote Mahra Sultanate.

Of the units in the Eastern Protectorate, the Qu'aiti state is the largest and most thoroughly organized. The capital is Mukalla, which is the residence of the Sultan, Salih bin Ghalib al-Qu'aiti, and the seat of the British Resident Adviser for the Eastern Aden Protectorate. Assistant Advisers are stationed at Say'un and in the Wahidi Sultanates. The stationing of an

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

¹⁵ See "Aden's Hinterland," *Economist*, February 26, 1955, pp. 715-16.

¹⁶ My thanks are due to Col. Boustead, the British Resident Adviser, Eastern Aden Protectorate, and his staff, and to many local officials in Mukalla and Say'un for their assistance and many courtesies.

Assistant Adviser in the Mahra Sultanate was planned in the summer of 1954. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri Sultanates have a complete administrative organization of their own, so the British advisers have less of a direct administrative and more of a guiding role than in the Western Protectorate. However, the small number of Hadhramis trained to do jobs requiring over-all direction of administrative functions has led to the employment both in the Qu'aiti and Kathiri states of foreign technicians, mostly Sudanese and Pakistanis. Sudanese influence, in particular, has been strong in the administrative field as well as in the field of education. In the Qu'aiti state, the head of the central administration, the State Secretary, is a very able Sudanese of great presence and dignity. The important post of Financial Secretary is filled by a Pakistani. The Deputy State Secretary and the two Assistant Secretaries are Hadhramis. The state is subdivided into five provinces headed by *na'ibs* and districts headed by *qa'ims* — all these subordinate officials are Hadhramis. For the last three years Mukalla has had a *na'ib*; before that it was administered directly by the State Secretariat.

Local administration is being developed, particularly in the Qu'aiti Sultanate. In 1952 a Local Council's Decree was enacted which envisaged the setting up of town and village councils. Mukalla already has a town council with a secretary at the head of the *baladiya*, or municipality. The city has its own budget and levies its own taxes. The city administration handles such problems as water supply and roads. No taxes are contributed to the state coffers, but deficits of the city administration are made up by the state.

The writer was able to get a first-hand impression of the administration of a small provincial town in Ghail Ba Wazir, the educational center of the Qu'aiti state and the center of the tobacco growing region. According to the district officer, it has about 16,000 inhabitants. The town, which H. W. Ingrams described in the 1930's as particularly dirty, has now a well-deserved reputation for cleanliness.¹⁷ The town council of Ghail consists of the *qa'im* as the president, the town treasurer and sanitation inspector as official members, and some of the traditional local headmen and important merchants as unofficial members. There are no elections. Altogether there are 3 official and 6 unofficial members. The council passes by-laws on purely municipal matters and may also levy taxes. Again all taxes go exclusively to the municipality and none are passed to the state. The income of the town at the time of my visit in 1954 was given as about 37,000 East African shillings (\$5,180) and the expenditures as about 36,000 shillings (\$5,040). Funds were being set aside for the building of a hospital in the hope that the state would contribute the balance, and for malarial control, malaria being one of the great health problems of the region. While Ghail can probably be regarded as something of a model community, its achievements in orderly administration appeared impressive.

¹⁷ H. W. Ingrams, *Arabia and the Isles* (London 1942), p. 156.

One of the problems with which several of the *na'ibs* have to cope is bedouin control. The number of bedouin in the Hadhramaut is considerable, and among their means of livelihood is providing camel transport for the traveller. With the advent of motor traffic, camel transport has been severely threatened, and in an effort to protect the bedouin, it was decreed that a traveller may transport only a certain specified poundage by truck if camels are available for the rest of his load. I was told by the *na'ib* in Mukalla that it is among his functions as bedouin control officer to visit daily the bedouin camp outside the city's single gate and ascertain the number of camels available for transport to the interior. The bedouin do not carry on their business themselves but through established brokers in the town who know the bedouin and the prevailing market prices.

Legislation in the Qu'aiti state is through decree. The decrees are numbered, printed, and published, usually in English and Arabic. It would appear that many of the more complex decrees, at least, are drafted by the British advisory staff and then rendered into Arabic. Although in the construction of a decree the Arabic text no doubt would be governing, the English is frequently helpful in the determination of terminology. According to the terms of the advisory treaty, the British do not have the right to advise the Sultan in matters "concerning Muhammadan religion and custom."¹⁸ Therefore, such pieces of legislation as, for example, the Shari'a Criminal Decree of 1950 were drafted without British help. All decrees are enacted by the Sultan; the Qu'aiti State Council, composed of official and unofficial members, is purely advisory. Among the official members are the State Secretary, the Deputy State Secretary, the Financial Secretary, the Director of Education, the Chief Qadi, and the British Resident Adviser. The unofficial members are appointed by the Sultan from the various provinces.

The court system of the Qu'aiti state is at present characterized by a duality of courts on the intermediate level but not on the lowest or highest one. The lowest courts are the Local Council Courts, which were created in 1952 to relieve the other courts of some of their burden. They consist of the President of the Local Council as President, and at least three other members drawn from among the Councillors or the elders of the Council area. These courts have jurisdiction in petty civil and criminal cases and administer "local custom prevailing in the area over which the court exercises jurisdiction; provided that such custom is not contrary to justice, morality or order."¹⁹ Criminal jurisdiction in other than petty matters is vested in the *na'ibs* and the *qa'ims*. The courts of the *qa'ims* have restricted jurisdiction; the courts of the *na'ibs* have general original jurisdiction except in murder cases and also appeal jurisdiction in cases handled by Local

¹⁸ Doreen Ingrams, *op. cit.*, p. 174, Article 1 of the Treaty.

¹⁹ Article 6(a).

Council Courts or courts of the *qa'ims*. All civil and personal status cases are tried by qadis. The Court of the Chief Qadi in Mukalla handles all appeals and also has original jurisdiction in murder cases. Certain appeal cases are handled by the Sultan in Council. Prior to 1950 an Indian jurist functioned as Chief Justice, hearing appeals from the *na'ib* and *qa'im* courts; however, there was opposition, particularly from the qadis, and the judge returned to India. Since then the Chief Qadi and the Sultan in Council have been the highest appeal courts. In addition to these courts there are also tribal courts and a commercial court in Mukalla, which in theory has jurisdiction in all of the Sultanate in commercial cases.²⁰

The substantive law of Mukalla is in theory, at least, based upon the shari'a law of the Shafi'i rite. However, a number of decrees have been enacted by the Sultan which deal with areas of the substantive law, both civil and criminal. Anderson notes that a principle widely used in the codification of shari'a law in other Arab states, namely that the law of other rites and even heterodox opinions may be utilized, is followed also in the Qu'aiti state although not in its extreme form.²¹

The Kathiri state, smaller and less wealthy than the Qu'aiti state and slower in its development,²² is in many ways administratively a microcosm to the Qu'aiti macrocosm. Like the Qu'aiti state, it is headed by a Sultan, Husayn bin 'Ali al-Kathiri. The central executive establishment is headed by a State Secretary, a Hadhrami and relative of the Sultan. He is aided by an Administrative Inspector who is a Sudanese. There is no *na'ib* in Say'un, the capital, but there are *na'ibs* in the other two provinces and two *qa'ims*. Town councils have been established in the two important towns of the state, Say'un and Tarim, and village councils in other places. (Shibam, the third important town in the Wadi Hadhramaut, is located in the Qu'aiti state.) As in the Qu'aiti state, there is a State Council presided over by the Sultan and consisting of official and unofficial members, among them the State Secretary, the Administrative Inspector, a shari'a expert, the President of the Tarim Town Council, and the British Assistant Adviser Northern Areas, who has his seat in Say'un. Decrees are enacted by the Sultan with the advice of the Council. In practice, the decrees enacted in the Kathiri state frequently follow those enacted earlier in the Qu'aiti state, with such modifications as are necessary. So far as I could ascertain, the decrees are not printed in the Kathiri state. The reason given for the absence of the Chief Qadi from the State Council was that if he were a member, he would sit in judgment on his own decisions.

The court system is again similar to that in the Qu'aiti state. Criminal

²⁰ For further details on the court system in the Qu'aiti state, see Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-16.

²¹ Anderson, *ibid.*, p. 19. See also pp. 16-18 for details of the various decrees.

²² Doreen Ingrams, *op. cit.*, p. 28, discusses the difficulties experienced by the Kathiri Sultans in establishing their authority, particularly over the large town of Tarim.

jurisdiction is in the hands of the *na'ibs* and *qa'ims*, and the Local Council Courts Decree has been introduced with minor modifications. However, the Shari'a Criminal Decree, which at the time of Anderson's visit seemed likely to be introduced in spite of some opposition from the conservative jurists in the Kathiri state, apparently was not adopted.²³ The *na'ibs* and *qa'ims* therefore still decide cases according to local custom, which frequently varies from place to place and thus can lead to differing and even contradictory decisions. Appeal from the *na'ib's* court lies in the State Council. The appeal from the qadi's court lies in the Chief Qadi's court and from there to the State Council. In Say'un, where there is no *na'ib*, there is a court for petty civil and criminal cases.

In the Aden Protectorate there are no British courts, and the idea of special courts for foreign or minority communities appears to be alien to an area which until very recently discouraged non-Muslims from settling. However, the Aden Protectorate Order in Council of March 18, 1937, reserved to the Crown the right to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Protectorate, and the Governor of the Colony is at the same time Governor of the Protectorate. In the Secretariat in Aden there is an Assistant Secretary for Protectorate Affairs. The Governor may make certain rules and orders for the Protectorate and may extend Colony legislation to the Protectorate. Such legislation applies only to non-natives. Judicial jurisdiction over non-natives rests with the courts of Aden Colony.

In its development the Aden area thus follows two distinct patterns. Direct British rule has given the Colony a Western-type administration, courts staffed by Western judges, and codes which follow the lines of British-Indian and British colonial legislation. In the Protectorate the preservation of native institutions has led to a systematization of administrative and judicial procedures rather than to any outright Westernization. Furthermore, not all of the sultanates and shaykhdoms possess as yet more than the very rudiments of administration. British advice and British participation in legislative drafting no doubt have introduced a certain amount of Western thought and Western method into this otherwise remote area. Furthermore, the introduction of administrators and teachers from the Sudan and Pakistan and in some parts of the Western Protectorate, such as Lahej, from Egypt, has injected other influences, all of them in the direction of modernization. The pace is relatively slow in these areas, which are untouched by the rapid development which has followed the discovery of oil in other parts of the Peninsula. It remains to be seen whether this slow and steady development toward more modern administrative concepts and processes can avoid some of the problems which have beset areas where development has been more precipitate.

²³ Anderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE JORDAN VALLEY WATERS

Don Peretz

(See map, facing page 361.)

THE KINGPIN of current American foreign policy in the Arab-Israel conflict is development of the Jordan Valley. This has been the approach since 1953, when President Eisenhower sent Eric A. Johnston of the Motion Picture Association of America to the Middle East as his personal representative. Johnston's over-all mission was to relieve the growing tension; from the beginning of his task he emphasized the economic development of the Jordan Valley. It was believed that success in this program would make possible the integration of a large number of Palestine Arab refugees into the economic structure of the Arab countries and thus remove one of the greatest obstacles to a political settlement of the Palestine problem. Moving the Jordan River from the area of controversy would also be an important step in reducing points of friction.

The economic development of the Jordan Valley is entirely dependent upon the control, conservation, and efficient distribution of its water resources. The restriction of rainfall to the winter months and the consequent extreme variation in the flow of the rivers (lowest in summer, when water for irrigation is most needed) makes the construction of dams, storage basins, and diversion canals essential, and these can be planned most effectively in the interest of all parties concerned if the watershed is considered as a whole regardless of political boundaries. Likewise, use of stored waters for the generation of electricity can be planned most economically on a regional rather than a national basis. It was on this argument of enlightened self-interest that Mr. Johnston hoped to sell the concept of unified Jordan Valley development (with American financial assistance) to both Israel and the surrounding Arab states.

The so-called "Johnston" plan for Jordan Valley development was originally drafted for UNRWA, which in 1952 had requested the Tennessee Valley Authority to draw up a plan for the unified development of the water resources of the Jordan Valley. TVA, in turn, assigned the survey to the Boston engineering firm of Charles T. Main, Inc., which submitted its engineering office study in August 1953. Although it was recognized that a unified development plan for the watershed would result in conflict with plans or interests of individual countries whose boundaries cut into or

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across the drainage line, the Main survey proceeded with a minimum of political assumptions. Its specific objective was to establish, in general terms and disregarding political boundaries, a broad plan for the most effective and efficient regional use of Jordan Valley water resources. Emphasis was to be primarily on irrigation, with production of hydroelectric power as a secondary consideration.

The Main proposal was based on surveys previously undertaken by James B. Hayes and Walter C. Lowdermilk for the Zionist authorities, and by M. G. Ionides, Murdoch MacDonald, and Mills E. Bunger for the Jordan government.¹ The essential engineering features of these projects are basically the same. The chief differences stem from a variety of assumptions as to the political status of, and boundaries dividing, the watershed, and as to the final destination of the water. The fundamental technical concept which all have in common is to utilize — primarily for irrigation but also for power — the gravity flow of water from the upper Jordan to the lower parts of the valley or coastal plain, with Lake Tiberias or part of the Yarmuk Valley as reservoirs for temporary surpluses.

THE CHARLES T. MAIN (JOHNSTON) PLAN

The essence of the Main report is stated as follows:

As a problem of engineering the most economic and the quickest way to get the most use from the waters of the Jordan River System requires better organization of the headwaters on the Hasbani and in the Huleh area to serve the lands by gravity flow within that part of the Jordan watershed and use of Lake Tiberias as a storage reservoir for the flood flows of the Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers. From Lake Tiberias these waters would be made available by gravity flow to irrigate lands on the east and west sides of the Jordan Valley to the south. Gravity flow eliminates expensive pumping facilities. Storage reservoirs save flood waters for use in the dry months. Use of the natural reservoir afforded by Lake Tiberias takes advantage of an asset already at hand; there is no known alternative site, at any cost, for a reservoir that would effectively regulate and store the flood flows of the Jordan and its main tributary, the Yarmuk.²

More specifically, the original Main plan included the following features, described from north to south:³

1. A dam and reservoir would be constructed on the Hasbani River in Lebanon, in which would be stored the winter runoff of the river, averaging about 130 MCM per year. The Hasbani dam would thus act as a partial regulator, for purposes of both irrigation and power, of the waters of the upper Jordan flowing into Lake Huleh.

¹ For the background of these plans, see M. G. Ionides, "The Disputed Waters of Jordan," *Middle East Journal*, vol. 7 (Spring 1953), pp. 153-64; Dana Adams Schmidt, "Prospects for a Solution of the Jordan River Valley Dispute," *Middle Eastern Affairs*, vol. 6 (January 1955), pp. 1-12.

² *The Unified Development of the Water Resources of the Jordan Valley Region*. Prepared at the request of the United Nations under direction of Tennessee Valley Authority by Charles T. Main, Inc. (Boston, Mass., 1953). Introductory letter by Gordon R. Clapp, August 31, 1953.

³ See map, facing p. 361.

2. A power canal from the Hasbani Dam to a powerhouse near Tel-Hai would be constructed for the prior utilization of the irrigation water in the generation of hydroelectric power.

3. A canal would collect the diverted waters of the Banyas River, which flows into the Jordan at Ain al-Hamara in Israel, as well as those of the Dan and Hasbani Rivers and the Tel al-Qadi springs high in the valley. Traveling west and south, this canal would convey by gravity substantially all the usable flows of these streams to irrigate lands in the Upper Huleh basin, Ayelet Hashahar district, Galilee hills, Yavneel valley, and the valley of Jezreel.

4. Lake Huleh and the marsh area to the north would be drained and cleared for agriculture, with the water recovered from the present excessive transpiration and evaporation flowing into Lake Tiberias for storage. For this purpose it would be necessary to enlarge the outlet of Lake Huleh and to provide drainage canals in the whole area.

5. Hydroelectric power facilities would be constructed on the Yarmuk River. They would consist of a dam at Makarin and a power canal running approximately 30 kilometers from Makarin to a powerhouse near Adasiya. A portion of the water from the power canal might also be used for irrigation in the Yarmuk valley.

6. Below the Adasiya power station the Yarmuk water would be diverted into an irrigation canal on the eastern Ghor (Jordan Valley to the south) and the surplus into Lake Tiberias, where together with that of the Jordan River it would be stored for use as needed in irrigating the cultivable land on both sides of the Ghor.

7. Main canals would be located on the east and west sides of the Jordan River (i.e., the east and west Ghor) with regulating works at Lake Tiberias to convey water by gravity about 100 kilometres south, as far as the Wadis Rama and Qilt. This would carry the irrigated area some 6 kilometers south of the Amman-Jericho road and 3 to 10 kilometers short of the Dead Sea. The level of Lake Tiberias would be raised 2 meters by heightening the existing dam at the point where the Jordan leaves it. This would increase the storage capacity of the lake from something over 500 MCM to about 830 MCM.

8. Control works and canals for the more efficient use of the perennial flows of the wadis south of Lake Tiberias would be provided. Reservoirs for the conservation of the flood flows of the wadis would also be constructed to the extent shown feasible after detailed studies. The storage capacity of these reservoirs might be supplemented by raising Makarin dam above its initial height if further study showed this to be warranted.

9. Wells would be used for supplementary irrigation water in areas where the development of such supplies might be feasible, as in the Ghor and the Yavneel Valley.

When the various areas and amounts of water available from the Jordan River system as distributed in the Main plan are added up in relation to existing political boundaries, 394 MCM per annum of water would irrigate 416,000 dunams in Israel; 774 MCM would irrigate 490,000 dunams in Jordan; and 45 MCM would irrigate 30,000 dunams in Syria. The Main report, recognizing that each of the countries involved might have its own idea as to where these waters might be directed, stated that the assignment of water to the various areas, as listed in the report, was in no sense meant to be a final allocation; indeed, all its proposals were tentative and meant merely to serve as a basis for further consideration. The total estimated cost of the development scheme, based on work in the United States in 1953, would be \$121 million. According to estimates of UNRWA, the scheme would facilitate resettlement of 150,000 Palestine Arab refugees in Jordan along the eastern and western Ghor canals.

The publication of the Main plan was greeted with coolness if not hostility by both Israel and the Arab states. Israel was disappointed because it provided for use of the Jordan waters only within the river's watershed and because it omitted use of the Litani River in Lebanon. It would make impossible national plans, based on the Hayes-Lowdermilk scheme (as later modified by the All-Israel proposals), to irrigate the coastal plain and the Negev with Jordan waters. The Israelis also believed that the Main plan, by overestimating the amount of irrigable land in the lower Jordan Valley, allocated too much water to Jordan.

Jordan initially met the plan with vehement political strictures. Prime Minister Fawzi al-Mulki exclaimed that his government would "consider no scheme involving departure from its policy of no peace with Israel. Jordan is fully prepared to continue bearing economic hardships rather than participate in any project with Israel, either directly or indirectly."⁴

Other Arab sources maintained that the Main plan was in reality a political program for a solution of the Palestine problem in the guise of a purely technical report. "It is political through and through; its framework is political, its implications are political, its consequences are political," commented the Arab Palestine Office in Beirut. The Office asserted that the proposal was merely a device to delude the Arab refugees and trick them into giving up their right to return to their homes in Palestine.⁵

One of the principal Arab complaints centered on the use of Lake Tiberias, located entirely in Israel, as a storage reservoir for the surplus waters of the Yarmuk River. It was argued that "water resources which have their origin almost entirely in these three Arab countries [the Hasbani in Lebanon, the Banyas in Syria, and the Yarmuk in Syria and Jordan]

⁴ *New York Times*, November 15, 1953.

⁵ Arab Palestine Office, *Commentary on Water Development in the Jordan Valley Region* (Beirut, June 1954), p. 24.

will be stored in Israel. Even if the Arabs are told that the distribution of water from Lake Tiberias will give them twice as much as the Israelis will get, the fact remains that most of the water is already theirs."⁶ Therefore the Arabs would not allow "their water" to be stored in Israel despite international guarantees for its equitable distribution. Rather than make use of Lake Tiberias for storage purposes, the Arab states preferred to proceed with the independent construction of the high (500-foot) Makarin dam on the Yarmuk as previously proposed in the Bunger plan and originally supported by UNRWA and the U.S. Technical Cooperation Administration in Jordan. This plan had its limitations, but would be adequate to care for all Yarmuk waters and would obviate the necessity of relying on Israeli territory for storage.

JOHNSTON'S INITIAL NEGOTIATIONS

Such was the atmosphere in which Ambassador Eric Johnston arrived in the Middle East in October 1953 for the purpose of convincing both Israel and the Arab states of the wisdom of proceeding with a unified development of the Jordan Valley. He encountered genuine interest in Israel, but great dissatisfaction with the figures and basic premises of the Main report. In the Arab states, there was a general disposition to throw out, not only the plan, but Johnston as well. In Jordan he even found difficulty in meeting the Prime Minister. Arab-Israeli tension had unfortunately been heightened by the Kibya raid, which occurred while Johnston was en route to the area. In the circumstances, he perceived that there was no possibility of even discussing the proposals rationally, much less of trying to obtain agreement at that time. He therefore explained that the Main report was only a basis for discussion and asked the governments concerned to consider it with an open mind, make suggestions for modification if they wished, and to be prepared to discuss it further at a later date. His tactic was to keep the door open against strong Arab pressure to slam and lock it shut.

At the time of his first visit to the area Johnston anticipated that the Arab states would insist on considering the development proposal jointly, presumably within the Arab League. Since Egypt was the dominant power in the League it was felt that a visit to Cairo en route to the other capitals would be advisable. Egypt was also considered important because of its membership in the Advisory Commission of UNRWA and because of the large number of refugees in the Egyptian-occupied Gaza Strip. In Cairo Johnston received assurances of Egyptian cooperation and assistance.

Following Johnston's initial visit the League did consider the matter and appointed a technical committee to develop Arab alternatives to the Main proposals. From the outset Egypt played an important role in the Jordan Valley development discussions in the League and its Irrigation Engineer,

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

U.S.-educated Dr. Muhammad Salim, became chairman of the Technical Committee.

THE ARAB LEAGUE PLAN

Between the first and second Johnston trips to the Middle East, the Technical Committee of the Arab League offered a plan which, from the point of view of Arab attitudes, was a great step forward. Its fundamental importance was that it recognized the principle of sharing the Jordan waters with Israel and the need for some program in which both Israel and the Arab states would play a role, and that it considered at least a limited use of Lake Tiberias as a reservoir. At the same time, the Arab Technical Committee disputed the claim that it was possible to disregard the political boundaries between the countries involved.

The main features of the Arab League counterplan were as follows:

1. In Lebanon 35,000 dunams in the Hasbani River valley would be irrigated by about 35 MCM of Hasbani water each year. A storage dam would be constructed on the Hasbani from which a canal would lead through the Lebanese lands to be irrigated. A power station would also be erected to take advantage of the fall of the canal back into the Hasbani.

2. North of Lake Tiberias, 20,000 dunams in the Banyas valley of Syria would be irrigated by 20 MCM annually, and an area of 22,000 dunams in the al-Butayn region northeast of the lake would be irrigated by 22 MCM per year. Canals for this purpose would be constructed on both the right and left banks of the Banyas.

3. In Israel, north of Lake Tiberias, 78,000 dunams of the Huleh region would be irrigated by 66 MCM of Jordan water. In the Ayelet ha-Shahar region about 30,000 dunams would be irrigated by 30 MCM yearly. The Huleh and Ayelet ha-Shahar regions would be supplied by a canal running westward from the Banyas River, north of the Huleh, and then southward until it discharged its remainder into the Jordan River. About 22,000 dunams in the Yavneel Valley would require no irrigation water from the river as they could be supplied from existing wells.

4. In accordance with an agreement signed between Jordan and Syria in June 1953, a storage dam would be constructed on the Yarmuk River, either at Makarin or at Wadi Khalid. The dammed waters would be used to generate hydroelectric power, for which a power station would be constructed, and to irrigate about 77,000 dunams in Syria and the entire Jordan Valley in Jordan.

5. A second dam would be erected lower down on the Yarmuk near Adasiya for storage and power, to be developed in conjunction with the dam upstream.

Both hydroelectric plants would be utilized by Syria and Jordan in accordance with the June 1953 agreement.

The Arab Technical Committee opposed use of Lake Tiberias as the main storage basin for Yarmuk waters on the grounds that it would place waters which were to be used in Jordan "at the mercy of Israel"; salinity of the lake would cause irrigation waters stored there to deteriorate in quality; the rate of evaporation is substantially greater at Lake Tiberias than at Makarin or at Wadi Khalid; and use of Lake Tiberias as a reservoir would necessitate raising its level by about 2 meters, which would cause the flooding of certain holy places along its shores.

6. A diversion canal would conduct surplus Yarmuk waters which could not be stored in the Yarmuk reservoirs into Lake Tiberias. A second diversion canal would conduct water from the lake to the eastern Ghor canal.

7. The eastern Ghor canal would run about 100 kilometers southward into Jordan. About 296,000 dunams would be irrigated by 574 MCM of water per annum, of which 396 MCM would be supplied by the Jordan-Yarmuk system. The balance would come from wells and wadis. Of the 396 MCM, about 270 MCM per year would be available directly from the Yarmuk and the remaining 126 MCM from the Lake Tiberias reservoir through the diversion canals mentioned above.

8. A western Ghor canal would run directly from Lake Tiberias about 100 kilometers southward, the first half of its course lying in Israel and the lower half in Jordan. In the Israeli section of the western Ghor, about 78,000 dunams would be irrigated annually by 41 MCM. South of this area, in the Jordan section of the western Ghor, 194,000 dunams would be irrigated by 302 MCM. In the Israeli-held Jordan-Yarmuk triangle south of Lake Tiberias, Israel would be able to irrigate 26,000 dunams with some 45 MCM of Yarmuk river water.

The total distribution of land to be irrigated by the Jordan-Yarmuk system (including wells and wadis) and the amounts of water to be allocated annually from the rivers and their tributaries would be as follows: Syria, 132 MCM to irrigate 119,000 dunams; Lebanon, 35 MCM to irrigate 35,000 dunams; Israel, 182 MCM to irrigate 234,000 dunams; Jordan, 698 MCM to irrigate 490,000 dunams.⁷

The greatest difference between the original Main plan and the Arab League Technical Committee plan was in the amount of water distributed to each participating state, notably a 4-fold increase for Syria and a 44-percent reduction for Israel. Under the Main plan, also, Lebanon was not included among the recipients of water from the Jordan-Yarmuk system. The engineering in both schemes was fundamentally the same, except that the Arab plan, in allocating far less water to Israel through the reservation of the Hasbani waters for Lebanon, eliminated the irrigation canal system in Israel west of Lake Tiberias.

⁷ *The Arab's (sic) Plan for Development of Water Resources in the Jordan Valley* (March 1954), pp. 1-8 *passim*.

THE COTTON PLAN

Israel submitted the Main plan to its Government Consulting Board on Irrigation and Hydroelectric Power. The Board disagreed with the principal conclusions of the report, primarily because it did not include the Litani River in regional development plans. "We are at a loss to understand . . . why in a true regional program, the use of the Litani River in Lebanon has been completely omitted either in analysis or in program," it concluded. To work out an alternative giving greater consideration to these claims, the Israeli government consulted John S. Cotton. His plan, issued in February 1954, was not limited to the Jordan-Yarmuk basin "since hydrographic boundaries have no real engineering meaning."⁸

The Cotton plan embodied the chief features of the Hayes-Lowdermilk scheme as modified in the All-Israel program. The inclusion of the Litani River was not a new concept, as the potentialities of the Litani had long been recognized by Zionist groups. After World War I, when the question of the frontier between Palestine and Syria was being negotiated between Great Britain and France, the Zionists put up a strong demand that the section of the Litani which flowed from east to west demarcate the Palestine-Syrian frontier. The demand was rejected, but Palestine was compensated by the inclusion of all of Lake Huleh, all of Lake Tiberias, and the eastern bank of the Jordan River connecting the two bodies of water. Nevertheless, Zionist plans for the development of Palestine continued to include proposals for the use of Litani waters for irrigation and power, based on the assumption that Lebanon would agree to sell its surplus. In 1943 discussions actually took place between a group of Jewish engineers in the Palestine Water Company and a Lebanese engineering firm, headed by Albert Nakkache, for a joint Litani development program. The Cotton plan integrated this scheme with the All-Israel water development program.

The main features of the Cotton plan were as follows:

1. Surplus water of the Litani River not required for irrigation in Lebanon was estimated to be about 50 percent of the river's flow, or about 400 MCM. It would be diverted to two lakes at a point where the river flow changes from north-south to east-west, 5.5 kilometers across the Israeli frontier in Lebanon. From the lakes a conduit would lead the water into Israel.
2. The canal for diversion of upper Jordan waters to a power plant on Lake Tiberias would be completed. This canal is part of the All-Israel scheme.
3. The storage reservoir in the Battauf valley north of Nazareth (also

⁸ *The Cotton Plan for the Development and Utilization of the Water Resources of the Jordan and Litani River Basins*. Press Release, Israel Information Office, New York, June 1954.

part of the All-Israel scheme) would receive water diverted from the Jordan at the new power plant. From the reservoir (as in the All-Israel scheme), a main conduit would conduct the Jordan waters stored there southward to the Negev.

4. An irrigation canal would be built from Lake Tiberias southward to the Beisan Valley.

5. The Yarmuk River would be diverted (as in the Arab plan) into two canals to irrigate both sides of the Jordan Valley from the Israeli boundary southward to the Dead Sea. From Lake Tiberias southward the Jordan River would run dry much of the time since Israel would take most of the water north of the lake, and the Jordanians would divert the Yarmuk to canals through the valley.

The Cotton plan does not envisage use of Lake Tiberias as the main storage reservoir for the Yarmuk. It proposes, rather, that a siphon system entirely within Jordan conduct Yarmuk water across the dried-up Jordan River bed to the western bank. Thus Jordan's water supply for irrigation in the Ghor would not be under Israel's control except for the winter flood water of the Yarmuk, which would be stored in the lake and later released through a feeder channel to the canals on the eastern side of the Jordan Ghor.

6. In the early stages of the Cotton plan, surplus Litani water would be diverted to Israel for purposes of power rather than irrigation. It would be used as a substitute for Mediterranean water in a power plant which would eventually fulfill the chief power phases of the Hayes-Lowdermilk plan. When constructed, the Mediterranean-Dead Sea canal would extend from north of Haifa eastward to the Jordan Valley; thence west of Lake Tiberias to the old Jordan River bed. Under the Hayes-Lowdermilk scheme, Mediterranean water was to be conducted through a canal from approximately the same area in a southeasterly direction to the Jordan valley south of the lake.

According to the Israelis, the Cotton plan would provide sufficient water for all of Jordan's irrigable land, as well as for southern Lebanon and Syria. Israel would receive only surplus waters which could not be used elsewhere. Syria would receive annually 30 MCM to irrigate 30,000 dunams; Lebanon, 450.7 MCM to irrigate 350,000 dunams; Israel, 1,290 MCM to irrigate 1,790,000 dunams; Jordan, 575 MCM to irrigate 430,000 dunams. The Cotton plan would supply 1,412,400,000 kwh. of electric power per year. The total cost of the plan would be \$470 million and it would require 25 years to fulfill.

Although the Cotton plan proposed to use about 50 percent of the Litani waters in Israel, a report made in June 1954 by a team of U.S. Bureau of Reclamation experts working for the Foreign Operations Administration estimated that Lebanon could use about 80 percent of the Litani waters.

Nevertheless, the Israelis, in support of their position, pointed to the suggestions in the Clapp report of 1949 that the excess flow from the Litani be diverted to the Jordan Valley. Moreover, the 550-meter drop to the valley floor could produce electricity much more cheaply than in Lebanon and could be sold to Lebanon at rates lower than the cost of generation there.

From the outset of negotiations, when Prime Minister Sharett first raised the question, it was explained that Lebanon could not be requested to share a wholly national river with Israel. Because Lebanon was working out its own plans for development and use of the Litani, incorporation of its waters in the Jordan Valley scheme would spell defeat from the start. The United States had a valid basis on which to approach the Jordan Valley states since all of them had some claim to the Jordan and Yarmuk; Israel stood a far better chance of eventually obtaining some Litani water if an acceptable arrangement were first made and executed with the Arab states for the Jordan. Such an agreement might pave the way for a deal with Lebanon later on. Although the U.S. could make no commitments now, Israel would be free to negotiate such an arrangement when the time arrived.

THE JOHNSTON COMPROMISE

When Ambassador Johnston returned to the Middle East for a second round of talks with Israel and the Arab states in the summer of 1954, he thus had three plans in hand: the original Charles T. Main plan, the Arab League Technical Committee plan, and the Cotton plan proposed by Israel. The differences are summarized in Table I.

Substantial progress toward unified development of the Jordan Valley had been made by both Israel and the Technical Committee of the Arab League when they recognized the principle of international development. But the remaining differences in the three plans revealed the following areas of fundamental disagreement in which some compromise would be necessary before an over-all valley development program could materialize:

1. A major difference was the amount of water which each of the states was to receive from the unified river system. In the Cotton plan Israel was demanding over three times as much water as allocated to it in the Main plan, and seven times the amount called for in the Arab League counter-proposal. The Israeli plan, it is true, included use of the waters of the Litani, which increased by about 75 percent the total amount of water to be distributed. But even without the Litani, Israel still claimed about 670 MCM annually from the Jordan-Yarmuk system. According to Israeli estimates that would be 40 to 50 percent of the available water, and would comprise about 75 percent of the Jordan flow at the Banot Yaacov bridge

below Lake Huleh. The Arabs, on the other hand, allotted Israel only 20 percent of the Jordan waters, and the Main plan, 33 percent.

2. At the time of Johnston's second trip to the Middle East, only the Israeli plan envisaged irrigation from the unified river system outside the Jordan watershed. Neither the Main nor the Arab scheme provided for use of Jordan-Yarmuk waters along Israel's coastal plain and in the Negev. At this time the Arabs insisted that all water taken from the Jordan-Yarmuk system be used only within the watershed.

3. Neither Israel nor the Arabs were enthusiastic about use of Lake Tiberias as a storage reservoir for the surplus waters of the Yarmuk.

4. Israel still insisted upon use of water from the Litani River, although at the time of the second Johnston mission no complete and accurate survey of Cotton plan effects upon Lebanese development had been completed.

5. The international control necessary for implementation of a regional development scheme was the subject of mutual suspicion. Israel, influenced by a number of decisions against it cast by United Nations Truce Supervision officers in the Mixed-Armistice Commissions, looked with skepticism on any agreement which might in some way affect its sovereignty.

During Johnston's 1954 trip to the Middle East, compromises on some of these basic differences were worked out. Aside from mutual recognition of rights implicit in the Arab and the Cotton plans, the most important advance was recognition by both Israel and the Arab states of the advisability of using Lake Tiberias as a storage reservoir. Israel reluctantly

Table I: COMPARISON OF JORDAN VALLEY DEVELOPMENT PLANS

	Main Plan	Arab Plan	Cotton Plan
Dunams of land to be irrigated			
Lebanon	—	35,000	350,000 ^a
Israel	416,000	234,000	1,790,000
Jordan	490,000	490,000	430,000
Syria	30,000	119,000	30,000
Total	936,000	878,000	2,600,000
	(Jordan & Yarmuk)	(Jordan & Yarmuk)	(Jordan, Yarmuk & Litani)
MCM of water per year			
Lebanon	—	35	450.7
Israel	394	182	1,290 ^b
Jordan	774	698	575
Syria	45	132	30
Total	1,213	1,047	2,345.7
KWH of power per year.....	210,000,000	Close to Main Plan	1,412,400,000
Cost	\$121,000,000	Close to Main Plan	\$470,000,000
Time to construct.....	10-15 years	Close to Main Plan	25 years

a. Includes lands outside the Jordan Valley.

b. Comprising 670 MCM from the Jordan-Yarmuk system; 620 from the Litani.

indicated willingness to consider neutral supervision necessary to implement the storage proposal if and when the "inexorable logic" of the plan made it necessary. Disagreement continued over the principle of using Jordan River water outside the watershed, and most basic of all, over the amount of water to be allocated to each nation. Israel argued that the Main and Arab plans overestimated the amount of irrigable land and the amount of water per unit required for economic crop production in the Jordan Ghor. Indeed, a large part of the disagreement at this stage resulted from the lack of an accurate land and hydrological survey of this portion of the area.

This was remedied before Johnston's third visit to the Middle East in February 1955 by the completion of a scientific estimate of Jordan's water needs, based on an 18-month survey of soil and hydrological conditions in the area, by two American companies: Michael Baker, Jr., of Rochester, Pennsylvania, which made a land and soil analysis; and the Harza Company of Chicago, which made a study of hydrological conditions during 1953 and 1954.

The Baker-Harza survey confirmed the conclusion that all the waters of the Yarmuk could not be stored economically and efficiently in a Yarmuk storage reservoir, and that use of Lake Tiberias for full flood-flow storage would be necessary. Baker's classification of irrigable land also increased to 514,000 dunams the area in the Jordan Ghor which could feasibly be irrigated. This increase from the 490,000 estimated in the Main plan took into account slope, soil type, salinity, and various other factors. The Baker report actually found about 530,000 dunams of arable or potentially arable land in the Jordanian sectors of the valley, but from this a deduction of 3 percent was made for noncrop uses such as canals, roads, and buildings. When it was pointed out that the usual allowance for noncrop land in such a study is 10 to 15 percent, the Baker-Harza experts replied that the Arab farmer's custom of living in villages located on nonirrigable lands in the foothills left an unusually large proportion of the total valley land available for crops.

At the same time, the Baker-Harza report substantially reduced the Main estimate of total Jordanian water needs. This was owing to the fact that the water requirement per dunam for successful irrigation was found to be materially lower than the Main and other reports had suggested. In its estimate the Baker-Harza survey took into account a proposed cropping pattern for Jordanian lands prepared by international agricultural experts of UNRWA. The net effect of the Baker-Harza preliminary report, therefore, was to increase the amount of land to be irrigated but decrease the amount of water needed for irrigation. It gave Johnston a solid scientific base on which to determine Jordan's actual water requirements.

The power potential of the Yarmuk River as determined by the Baker-

Harza survey was disappointing. Only a relatively small amount of steady power could be obtained within economic reason from storage dams on the river; and because the Yarmuk reservoir would have to be designed primarily for irrigation, it would be difficult to utilize it for the creation of electricity. This was somewhat of a blow to Syria, which was interested in the joint development scheme primarily because of its power potential. To meet the Syrian position, however, would involve construction of an inordinately expensive high dam.

JOHNSTON'S THIRD MISSION

During Johnston's third trip to the area early in 1955, Israel and the Arab states presented their reactions to the Baker-Harza report. The Arabs were happy to accept the increased estimate of irrigable land which the report found in Jordan, but were displeased at the proposed decrease in water duties which lowered the estimate of total water needs. They put forward a crop pattern of their own which would demand much more water than the Baker-Harza estimates for the needs of the Jordan Ghor. The Israelis also wanted more water and continued to dispute the amount of irrigable land which Baker-Harza found in Jordan and the 3 percent allowance for noncrop use.

By the time Johnston left the Middle East in February he had succeeded in obtaining the following compromises: Israel was willing to forego, for the time being, inclusion of the Litani River in a unified development scheme, and was prepared to permit minimum neutral supervision of the plan in operation. It also agreed provisionally to the use of Lake Tiberias as a storage reservoir for a limited amount of surplus Yarmuk waters to be used in Jordan. This acquiescence, however, was only half hearted, for the Israeli government had reason to suspect that the Battauf reservoir might leak, and this development aroused the anxiety of Israeli water authorities who now feared that Lake Tiberias would have to be used to compensate for its deficiencies. If such were the case, the limited capacity of the lake would not permit storage of both surplus Yarmuk waters and water which would be used for Israel's own development.

The Arab states had also moved toward a compromise. Their agreement to use Lake Tiberias as a partial storage reservoir was one major concession; withdrawal of their opposition to use of water from the Jordan outside the watershed along Israel's coastal plain and in the Negev was another. Their most important concession was a drastic cutback in the amount of water which they had at first demanded from the system.

As Johnston had expected, the original Main scheme was greatly altered during the negotiations. The Hasbani River dam and the canal leading from it into Israel were discarded because of their high cost and the oppo-

sition of both Lebanon and Israel. The power which was to be produced by the Hasbani dam would be replaced by the Banot Yaakov diversion. Although work on the diversion canal at Banot Yaakov had been brought to a halt at the request of the United Nations, it was believed that a general agreement for Valley development which limited Israel's offtake would obviate Syrian objections to the project.

As of the spring of 1955, the principal issues still to be resolved included: (a) the exact amount of water to be allocated to each state, with less than 10 percent of the total river flow in dispute; (b) the nature of an automatic system for releasing Jordan water to the Arabs from Lake Tiberias and Yarmuk water to the Israelis from the Adasiya diversion; and (c) the degree and nature of neutral supervision required to oversee operation of the river system.

At the outset of negotiations each side had tended to view their water proposals with little or no regard for the claims of the other. Israel had somewhat pre-emptive ideas about taking Jordan water; Jordan, on the other hand, had equally pre-emptive ideas about the Yarmuk. The attitude of both was that they needed all the water they could get. In keeping with basic Arab policy, moreover, the Arab states were as much interested, during the initial phase of negotiations, in keeping water away from Israel as they were in obtaining it for themselves. They saw Israel's development of the coastal plain and the Negev as a further step in expansion and economic growth. Both sides now had come to adopt a far more cooperative approach by accepting the concept of unified development and indicating a willingness to adjust their previous attitudes to an over-all plan.

Within Israel itself there was apparently a sharp division between certain water experts and officials who opposed the whole principle of dividing the Jordan flow, and moderates in the cabinet who recognized the political and economic gains to be derived from Johnston's proposals. Many of the former argued that for every x MCM of water Israel compromised away, a new Jewish settlement would have to be sacrificed. Under the present All-Israel program, even after 1960 the major portion of Negev lands which Israeli authorities believe to be irrigable would remain without water. The country would still be required to import more than half of its bread grains at an annual cost, based on a present market calculation, of about \$17 million. For any growth of population beyond the 2 million mark, irrigated lands would have to be increased to keep pace with growing consumption, and according to present estimates only the Jordan-Yarmuk system and the Litani have sufficient water resources to meet the need. Acceptance of the Johnston compromise by Israel would just barely enable it to fulfill development plans as of 1960, when absorptive capacity for a 2-million population must be reached.

Johnston argued, however, that there is not enough water in the Jordan-Yarmuk system to give both sides the amounts they think they require and deserve; that if they aspire to American technical and economic assistance in development of the water they will both have to cut down their demands; that with no compromise there would be no agreement; and that without an agreement there would be continuous disputes over the use of the rivers. Israel was demanding a mathematical limitation on the land-water ratio, whereas Johnston was interested in a more pragmatic limitation. He granted that water for irrigation was vital to Israel's development, but pointed out that the country had sources other than the Jordan-Yarmuk system. In all, official Israeli sources estimated that there are at least 2,400 MCM of water annually available to Israel from rivers, springs, wells, and underground sources in the country, of which only about 640 MCM could be provided by the Jordan-Yarmuk system. Jordan, with approximately the same population as Israel if one included the 475,000 Arab refugees now in the country, must obtain most of its water for irrigation and development from the joint river system since it has no other major water resource. The geological structure of Jordan limits its potential irrigated land development on an economic basis to the Jordan Valley, whereas Israel's potential is large in other areas. According to Johnston's estimates, successful implementation of the unified development plan would increase the agricultural productivity in the Jordan Valley of Jordan by seven to ninefold and facilitate the resettlement of nearly 200,000 Arab refugees. It would be a major contribution to alleviating tensions generated by economic and social instability in the area.

FURTHER PROBLEMS

At the conclusion of his third round of talks with Israel and the Arab states, Ambassador Johnston claimed that "We are down to about the two-yard line." However, mutual acceptance of the unified Jordan development plan at the present stage would still leave many problems unsolved. To date, as in all aspects of the Palestine problem, there has been almost no direct negotiation between Israel and the Arab states. All parleys have taken place between Johnston and each side separately. The plan could be implemented through a solemn undertaking filed unilaterally by each side with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, with details of construction, finances, and operation worked out as part of individual project agreements between the participating states, UNRWA, and the United States International Cooperation missions now located in the area or other appropriate agencies. Other suggestions have proposed a joint committee or board similar to the mixed armistice commissions, but staffed with technicians rather than military officers.

Implementation of the unified development plan would directly affect two internationally recognized concessions which depend upon the Yarmuk-Jordan system. Full exploitation of the river system would necessitate demolition of the Rutenberg hydroelectric plant at Naharayim, where the flow of the Jordan and the Yarmuk is joined, although the concession runs until 1996. A similar concession held by the Palestine Potash Company would be affected by the lowering of the level of the Dead Sea which would occur under the unified development plan. International law is flexible with regard to the cancellation of such concessions; however, the question is not conclusively answered and is subject to various interpretations.

Although the engineering details of Jordan Valley development have been well gone into, little work has been done on the social or human planning which must accompany it if the ends of American support for the unified plan are to be attained. In the Jordan Ghor, which is presently the main hope of Arab refugee resettlement, there is a serious lack of pertinent information about land tenure. At present the ownership of about a third of Jordan's territory is in doubt or unregistered, and most this land is in the area upon which hopes for refugee resettlement rely most heavily. According to Sir Murdoch MacDonald's survey, much of the Jordan Valley is in the hands of private owners, although there is a large estate of crown land on the east bank in the Dead Sea region. After World War II the trend of land tenure in southern Jordan was toward concentration of large estates in the hands of rich merchants who had acquired their wealth from accumulated war profits. This process was accompanied by increasing peasant indebtedness and expropriation. To achieve the social ends toward which the Johnston missions have aimed, a revolution in the land tenure system would be prerequisite. Given the present distribution of political power in Jordan, such tremendous social change is hardly likely in the immediate future, although certain steps looking to a solution of these problems are being taken by the Jordan government.

To this obstacle must be added those difficulties inherent in any mass movement of hundreds of thousands of individuals into an unsettled wilderness. It is inevitable that problems of maintaining communications with the rest of the area, achieving an economic balance of imports and exports for the region, and acquiring a rational balance of urban and rural occupational distribution; problems of regional and town planning; and most unpredictable of all, problems of morale, will arise to plague the regional planner. It is obvious that a successful development plan in the Jordan Valley must be accompanied by drastic economic and social changes within Jordan and must consider, along with the hydrological and soil surveys already made, social and political realities not yet fully analyzed.

CHANGING ETHIOPIA

Simon D. Messing

ETHIOPIA TODAY is not yet a homogeneous nation. The core of the country consists of the highland plateau; this is surrounded by lowlands with ethnically different border populations. Roughly speaking, the northern half of the country comprises what used to be called "Abyssinia"; the greater part of its population, largely Coptic Christian in religion, consists of several million Amhara, perhaps half a million Tigre people, some intrusive Galla, and smaller groups. It is in the former Abyssinia that the Semitic culture of Ethiopia is concentrated: the Amharic language derives its alphabet largely from that of Geez, the South Arabic language brought in about 500 B.C. The southern portion of the country is inhabited by several million Galla, partly Islamized from the coast, whose Cushitic tongue has no alphabet of its own. Among the Cushitic-speaking ethnic groups in the south are the million or so each of Sidamo, Somali, Wollamo, and Kaffa.

A further differentiation may be drawn between the way of life of the more stable agricultural peasantry on the fertile central plateau, largely Amhara, Tigre, and Galla (centuries ago the last named were invading pastoralists), and the nomadic and seminomadic Muslims and "pagans" of the belt of semidesert lowlands that almost surround the green highlands.

The present Emperor, Haile Selassie, is making consistent efforts toward the unity of these peoples through a program of centralization. One of the methods adopted is the "Amharization" of Ethiopia, the attempt to convert most of the linguistic and tribal groups to the Amhara pattern. This Amharization is linked to a program of "modernization," but has far to go before achieving its end. The portion of the population which identifies itself as Amhara probably does not yet constitute a majority.

The diversity of Ethiopia forces the author to limit his generalizations on this process of change to the central plateau core; only to a lesser degree do they also apply to the fringe areas. It should be mentioned, as well, that an important factor not treated here is the potential impact of the federation with Eritrea in 1952. One reason for this omission is that the period of federation has been too brief. For example, in 1953 the import duties in Eritrea were still considerably lower than for the rest of Ethiopia, but were raised in stages during 1954. Stores in Eritrea did not replenish their

♦ SIMON D. MESSING carried out ethnographic work among the Amhara of Ethiopia's central plateau in 1953-54, while on a research grant from the Ford Foundation. The Foundation, however, is not to be understood as approving by virtue of its grant any of the statements or views expressed herein.

stocks, and trained Eritrean mechanics, hospital "dressers," etc., were beginning to migrate to the rest of Ethiopia looking for employment. But one would need facts and figures on this migration to measure its significance. A second reason is that Eritrea has had 60 years of direct cultural contact with Europeans, and the resulting acculturation has also affected the political views of an educated minority. Since it is not yet clear whether Eritrea will be "centralized" to the status of a province of Ethiopia, it is difficult to speculate what effect the "homecoming" of Eritrea will have on the young educated elite of old Ethiopia.

Finally, attention in this discussion is focused on present dynamics and statics relating to change. It does not attempt a thorough treatment of historical factors. For example, Islam in Ethiopia, adequately described by Trimmingham,¹ does not constitute a dynamic force resisting the "centralization" of the growing Ethiopian national unity. Similarly, certain ethnic rivalries have softened to "joking relationships" and can hardly be said to remain significant obstacles to national unity: for example, the Coptic people of Tigre may joke about their traditional rivalry with the Coptic Amhara of Shoa province, referring to Tigre superiority (especially in intellectual matters), but centralization has proceeded too far to make an old-time provincial rebellion possible. Attitudes toward the Galla are more significant in the present change situation, and will be referred to more often.

THE ROLE OF THE EMPEROR

Ethiopia is situated at the crossroads of the Middle East and Africa. Thus, it is not surprising to find culture patterns from both these areas side by side or intertwined within Ethiopia. One such pattern is the traditional role of the king, or "king of kings." He is at the top of a complex hierarchical, pyramidal structure of provincial rulers, some with their own dynasties, who until the rule of the present Emperor retained their private armies. In the past, conquests, fortunes of war, land grants to military officers in lieu of pay, constantly raised successful soldiers to a level of small nobility while reducing the settled peasants to serfs. It was a situation not unlike that of Europe during part of the Middle Ages.

But the role of the monarch has been more African and Middle Eastern than European. The nobility never banded together to demand a Magna Charta. Provincial rebels hoped to become monarchs themselves, not to change the pattern of absolute monarchy — which indeed was not altered until the present Emperor proclaimed it a constitutional monarchy out of his own free will and intent to "modernize." The traditional monarch could, of course, issue any command, and it was obeyed within the reach of his military power. If he wanted something changed, it was done without

¹ Trimmingham, J. Spencer, *Islam in Ethiopia* (London, 1952).

much reflection. He determined the kind and rate of change. While in power, his status was at times almost divine, especially if he had personal prestige as a warrior-king (as did Menelik II after defeating the Italians in 1896, and Haile Selassie after the victory over them in 1941). It also helped if he could maintain the folklore of paternal wisdom in the symbolic and consciously followed pattern of King Solomon of Jerusalem, the reputed father of the first Emperor of Ethiopia.

Emperor Menelik, who died in 1913, initiated many of the changes which the present Emperor carried out, intensified, and developed before adding some of his own. Menelik was occupied much of his life with defeating his opponents in battle, like the Biblical King David, and it was left to his successor to build the nation that he had planned. Most of the wars of Menelik were concerned with the expansion of Abyssinia to include the Galla south and the lowland fringe areas before European colonial powers, which were then beginning to carve up Africa, could do the same to his country. He first obtained Italian firearms to subdue the Galla, then employed loyal Galla cavalry against the invading Italians. After these campaigns, many of the Amhara and Tigre marshals of noble rank retained armies loyal to them, a problem that had to be dealt with later.

Among the changes Menelik initiated but left to his successor to carry through were the following: Realizing the need for lines of communication to the outside world, he gave a French company in 1894 a charter for a railroad from Djibouti to Addis Ababa, a plan which was realized only in 1917. It facilitated the building of Addis Ababa and the export of coffee, hides, leopard skins, and civet musk. Recognizing the need for educated officials who would be loyal to the central government rather than become mere retinue to tradition-proud and change-resistant provincial rulers, Menelik established in 1908 the first state elementary school in Addis Ababa; it was staffed with Egyptian Coptic teachers and attended by 150 Ethiopian students, then largely Amhara. Previously there had been only the Geez-reading Church schools and foreign missionary schools. He established a State Bank, which, however, was not independent of the Emperor's private purse. He tried a national currency, but failed to displace the Maria Theresa thaler. He sold monopolies (e.g., of salt) to obtain state revenue and established government workshops at the capital, producing traditional items wanted by citizens in search of warrior's prestige: embroidered shawls, ceremonial clothing, swords, ornaments of lion mane, etc.

With the silent but fierce opposition of tradition-proud and change-resistant old Abyssinia in mind, Menelik intended some of his commands to limit rather than forbid certain old traditions. In this spirit were a proclamation in 1908 to limit the customary betting in court (so that the poor citizen would have a better chance against the rich man who could wager more); a proclamation to limit the fee of the magic thief-searcher

to 6 Maria Theresa thalers; a proclamation in 1911 urging citizens to come to Addis Ababa to the new Ministry of Commerce to be vaccinated free against smallpox; a proclamation in 1912 to plant the Australian eucalyptus tree (now still called "baher zaf," the tree from overseas) to their own profit for fuel and fast-growing lumber and as a "patriotic duty."

His motivation, just as that of Emperor Haile Selassie after him, was to promote the "modernization" of the country, prepare the road for technological progress, and raise the reputation of Ethiopia as a present-day nation among the countries of the Western world. But Menelik was handicapped in that very few of his countrymen understood this. His own Amhara provinces resisted the idea that they should abandon the traditional inward-looking behavior pattern and follow the ways of the *ferenj* (Frank, i.e., foreigner, not entirely a polite term). In those days the concept of rights of a simple, impecunious citizen seemed even more far-fetched. However, the right of a monarch to centralize authority, even to build a nation out of heterogeneous units, was easier to comprehend and was recognized wherever the Emperor held power.

Haile Selassie's reign can be divided into three parts: 1917-1929, when he was known as Tafari Makonnen, Regent and Heir to the Throne, achieving this position after an alliance between the nobles and the Church had deposed the light-hearted Lej Yassu, grandson of Menelik. During this period, the problem of peacefully subduing the remaining provincial dynasties occupied so much of the Regent's efforts that his modernization program was limited to Addis Ababa itself and to his ancestral estates in parts of Shoa and Harar provinces. The second period began when he was crowned Emperor in 1930 and embarked on a program of centralization and modernization for all provinces. This period ended with the invasion by Mussolini's forces in 1935. Haile Selassie returned triumphantly in 1941 to begin the third period: the year 1942 was one of many royal proclamations, some later amended and limited when it became clear where the "real situation" differed from the "legal situation."

The personality of Emperor Haile Selassie is a blend of the quiet subtlety of the Amhara noble and the modern, French education he received as son of Menelik's favorite marshal, adviser, and kinsman. His education enabled him to detach himself from the old Amhara ethnocentrism, and under his rule the numerous Galla subjugated by Menelik were so raised to equality, especially in Shoa province, that some of them have become the most loyal supporters of the central government and its policy of modernization.

CHANGE BY DIRECT PROCLAMATION

Royal commands now take the following forms and are published in the official *Negarit Gazeta* ("negarit" appropriately means drum), in both Amharic and English: (1) "Order" or (2) "Decree," if the subject matter

deals with any of a number of customary traits that are to be altered, limited or abrogated, and new ones declared legal; (3) "Proclamation," if the new law is channelled through Parliament, both houses of which are still appointed, not elected; (4) "Legal Notices," usually dealing with matters that specifically concern capital; (5) "General Notices," usually applying to specific charters of commercial and other organizations in the capital.

Of his own free will, without request from the population or nobility, the Emperor changed his absolute monarchy into a constitutional one in 1931. The Constitution was, as the Ethiopian Finance Minister then called it, "a gift from heaven." In announcing the innovation, the Emperor explained, "I wish my people to learn the idea of representation, that they may one day rise to take their part in the government of the country." The Constitution was a social contract between the Emperor's "Solomonic Dynasty" and the people of Ethiopia, but was also based on divine right, since the Emperor is formal head of the Coptic Christian Ethiopian Church. At present the Emperor has under study a gradual liberalization of the Constitution, and hopes that in time there will be greater participation by the people, especially the educated, in government.

Haile Selassie's consciousness of his country as part of a larger world guided in part his policies in domestic affairs. He went far beyond Menelik in abrogating what a Western observer might regard as outmoded. Thieves no longer have their hands cut off and executions of criminals are no longer public. In less dramatic matters, the new laws set limits to old practices, so as not to disturb the equilibrium of institutions and interests too much. To do so, the new laws give partial recognition to old customs that had never been recognized publicly and officially before. Thus, the Law of Loans of 1924 acknowledged that the guarantor of a loan could be seized bodily by the creditor, but only under certain new circumstances. Later this law was further amended until it has become impractical for most creditors to follow the old practice.

In the case of slavery, the Emperor urged abolition before his country was ready for it, contrary to his usual caution not to upset the equilibrium of the change-resistant elements until he was powerful enough to do so. His laws of 1924 and 1931 forbade slave dealing and freed certain types of slaves. In 1942, slavery was abolished and the death penalty invoked for slave trading as well as for organized, armed banditry. The authorities have been thorough in carrying out these edicts, and except for sporadic, small-scale banditry in remote lowland and border areas, both of these traditional plagues have virtually vanished from the scene within the past decade. Ex-slaves are free to leave their former masters, but often choose to remain as sharecroppers or as free household retainers.

The penal code of 1942 forbids polygamy, except to Muslims. But

the law recognizes all three customary types of marriage common to old Abyssinia: the church marriage, rarely followed by any except the married clergy; the *semanya* contractual marriage, the most common, which involves an agreement between the kinfolk of bride and groom; and the *damosz* (lit., wages) temporary marriage by monthly "reward," which can be dissolved by mutual agreement between the individuals involved. In the matter of marriage and other matters, reference is made to the *Fetha Nägest*, the 13th-century code that includes 21 church rules and 29 civil and criminal laws. This book, written in the old Ethiopic Geez language, is still reverently on display in the courtroom of the High Court, but in actual litigation is now at most a talking point.

Every Ethiopian still has, theoretically, the traditional right to appeal a grievance directly to the Emperor. In the past he did so by throwing himself in his path and shouting "abyet" (hear me). This practice has been discouraged, and a complainant is now given a slip for a special court of cassation.

The Medical Registration Proclamation of 1942 exempts persons from registration who "practice systems of therapeutics according to indigenous methods . . . provided they practice only among the community to which they belong. . . ." Because of this exemption, one still finds the *woggesha* at work in the provinces. He is a native herbologist and surgeon who has learned his craft from a predecessor. Since modern physicians are not available outside Addis Ababa and the provincial capitals, the rural population would have been left without any "medical" aid had this exemption not been made.

Although Coptic priests still consider tobacco smoking forbidden through theological interpretations, a proclamation in 1942 and several legal notices since have recognized a government monopoly in this industry.

A decree in 1933 limited the *afärsata*, or collective arrest of inhabitants of a region in case of an unsolved crime. It limited the size of the area that could be arrested and the number of days of collective confinement.

Royal example was put in form of another decree in 1933 when a daughter of the Emperor died. The decree announced that no *tazkar* feast would be held for the princess beyond gifts to the poor and to the priests. This referred to the large memorial feast which the kin of a Coptic Christian Abyssinian prepare forty days after his death, and to which strangers are also invited. Originally intended to compensate priests for their prayers for the soul of the deceased, the practice had become economically ruinous, especially for the *gabbar* (serf) who had to supply the *tazkar* of the feudal establishments. The decree also deplored the heavy consumption of alcohol at these memorial feasts and the resulting behavior.

To give Addis Ababa a modern look, the horse-drawn, 2-wheel *gari* has recently been ordered off the paved roads, and walls are being built around

the huts that remain in the center of the city. There, loudspeakers broadcast news and proclamations in Amharic every afternoon at 2, then play Amharic string music accompanying the traditional high-pitched female singers.

By royal command, an Ethiopian national anthem and other modern patriotic songs, mainly for use in the schools, were composed in the late 1920's and after. This music is not traditional in style, most of it resembling German marching music.

Of greatest concern to the Emperor has been the education of the next generation. He personally holds the post of Minister of Education, his only such post. A free, but not obligatory, school system has been gradually prepared consisting of elementary schools in the provincial capitals and Addis Ababa and high schools in the latter, where the son of the ex-slave can sit next to the son of the noble. High-school promotion is on the basis of merit. Subsistence as well as tuition is paid by the government, and for some of the best students provision is made for graduate study abroad. Elementary schools in the provincial capitals are staffed largely with Indian teachers, while secondary schools in Addis Ababa have European and American teachers. In 1951 there were 200 Ethiopian students abroad, and the number was rising. In 1950, the College of Addis Ababa was opened, and a number of the first graduates of 1954 were sent to Canada and other countries for advanced work.

According to figures of the Ethiopian Ministry of Education, there were, in 1952, 60,000 children in government elementary schools in all Ethiopia, 11 percent of them girls. Students of all ages are pleading to be admitted, but the facilities cannot yet keep pace, especially in the elementary schools.

CHANGE BY INDIRECT MEANS

On a number of occasions the Emperor has decided to promote his programs through indirect means: passing a "recommendation" down the ranks; treating change-resistant provinces with greater forbearance than others; encouraging imitation of royal example; increasing centralized control through gradual Amharization; passing along Westernization through young educated Amharas; permitting the effect of the changes brought about by direct means to become cumulative and gain their own momentum gradually; letting embarrassing culture traits fall into disuse by raising various indirect obstacles. Although the power of the Emperor is supreme, the circumstances that led to the deposing of Emperor Lej Yassu and the end of Emperor Theodore, both of whom ignored growing resistance to their will, are not forgotten.

One of the Emperor's recommendations was to the Coptic priests to take up the practice of preaching in church. The topics first suggested by the

Emperor were *tazkar*, mentioned earlier, and *lekso*, the violent mourning on the death of a next of kin. Instead of the old custom of tearing gowns, scratching the face, beating the breast, and rolling on the ground in an enactment of emotions of bereavement, it was suggested that the clergy preach self-restraint by merely wearing a black patch on the sleeve. But the Church is one of the most change-resistant institutions, and the practice of preaching did not spread beyond Addis Ababa. However, this particular recommendation did penetrate, and the closer one comes to Addis Ababa the more restrained is the mourning. Women have even developed the fashion of dying black the colorful border of their togas and wearing them upside down in case of bereavement.

Another recommendation to the Church was to convert the "pagans," and thus promote national unity. This recommendation met with only limited success, for traditionally the Amhara and Tigre priests are not eager to "raise to Christianity" large masses of what were once considered potential slave populations, such as the pagan Wollamo, Galla of Arussi province, and negroid Shanqalla. After the abolition of slavery, the old values persisted. Even the Qemants of Gondar, living inside old Amhara territory, were Christianized only after 1942, and the Wollamo have been left to foreign missionaries. The gradual enlargement of a national Church is a factor in growing national unity, and experience in most parts of the country has shown that non-Christian Ethiopians converted to Christianity by foreigners leave the foreign denomination after a generation or two and join the Abyssinian Church (this has not yet happened in Wollamo).

To calm the Ethiopian Muslims, the Emperor has sponsored the building of mosques in Muslim areas and invited Muslim notables to seats of honor at public functions. The former action is unprecedented for a devout Coptic ruler of Abyssinia, and any predecessor would have received serious protests from the Church.

A recommendation intended to soften ethnic barriers in the national interest advised against calling any common laborer "Gurage." The Gurage are a thrifty, hardworking people living southwest of Addis Ababa who do not despise manual labor and who were, therefore, despised by the traditional Amhara. Until a decade or so ago, anyone needing a porter in Addis Ababa merely shouted "Gurage." Today one does not hear this. The substitute suggested by the Emperor is "coolie," obviously an importation. The hardworking Gurage now own most of the little machine shops in Addis Ababa and are buying up the fertile farmland just west of the city.

The Amharic language is spreading from its position as the official language, and is fast becoming the lingua franca of Ethiopia. It is promoted not only through the new elementary schools and by the rule that all official documents and contracts must be in Amharic, but also by discouraging the

use of Amharic letters for the writing of any of the Cushitic languages. This keeps the latter nonliterate. Some small linguistic entities have been amalgamated to Amharic (e.g., Gafat) and even Gurage is spoken less than formerly. In time it may fall into disuse.

Imitation of royal behavior is encouraged. In 1934 the Emperor set aside territory in his personal district of Chercher for a pilot project of modernization. The scholars Takla Hawaryat and Dr. Martin, the best-educated Amhara at that time, were to head it. The plans for administrative reforms there included such innovations as payment of the tithe in cash instead of kind (which helps prevent abuses by landlords), payment of salaries to officials (to make them more independent of feudal nobles), freeing of slaves, establishment of a village school and medical station, preparation of dirt roads usable by motor vehicles in the dry season, and the building of a new model town, Asba Tafari. The invasion by the Italians a year later stopped the work, but Asba Tafari did grow into a small town.

Westernization also is promoted indirectly. A term frequently emphasized nowadays is *selṭaney*, which formerly meant politeness, refined and restrained behavior, civilization, but which now has the connotation of "modern" in the Western sense. For example, the barefoot passengers in the crowded buses in Addis Ababa always offer their seats to an Ethiopian matron, although back home, at her destination, the same woman is again the hewer of wood and drawer of water. It must be noted, however, that there is a pronounced tradition of courtesy, especially among the Amhara, in imitation of their own nobles. No Amhara wants to be regarded as a *balagär*, a rustic. Traditional courtesy is both formal and hearty. A man will not drop your hand after a handshake, for it would be "rude" to do so. They will ask each other a dozen times, "How are you?," for to ask merely once or twice would indicate indifference and be "rude." Walking in the same direction, men hold each other's hands, lightly — a gesture of simple politeness. But even in Addis Ababa, *selṭaney* has not proceeded to the point where even a modern, foreign-educated young man would feel free to walk arm-in-arm or hand-in-hand with a young lady. That gesture would make people think of sex and be criticized as shameless.

Selṭaney usually develops as follows: The Emperor and some of the educated elite decide to accept a specific Western trait, at Addis Ababa, and encourage imitation. Nobles and administrators frequently come from the provinces. To curry favor they adopt the innovation and carry it back to their provincial capitals. Finally, some of the change filters through to the peasant who does not want to be regarded as a rustic. *Selṭaney* became formalized in 1942 when a proclamation establishing a Consultative Committee on Legislation gave instruction to draft new laws that would be "not repugnant to natural justice and humanity."

Among customary traits that have been encouraged to fade away is the old institution of the *lebashay*, the thief catcher, which Menelik had tried to limit. According to the former procedure the victim of a theft obtained permission from the local *cheqa shum*, village headman, to go to the professional thief catcher, who held a semiofficial status. The latter drugged a boy who had not yet reached puberty; the boy stumbled over the area until he pointed out the thief. The new court procedure refuses to recognize the boy's findings, and the whole profession has fallen into disuse.

The cumulative effect of centralization has changed the former pattern of behavior among the nobles. Until Menelik's time, and some even during his reign, they preferred to stay in their own provinces, wielding powers next to absolute, limiting their recognition of a far-away king to payment of tribute and occasional aid in warfare. But now, a high noble, even if he has been appointed governor-general of a province, tries in every way he can to spend as much as nine months of the year in Addis Ababa, attending the palace courtyard ceremony of bowing to the Emperor at least twice a week, the old institution known as *däj tänat* (lit., staying near the gate). For here decisions are made, careers rise and fall, royal favor is won and lost, and it is important to be seen regularly lest one's rivals gain the advantage. The Emperor has permitted the institution to continue, and each governor-general has his own *däj tänat* when he returns to his province.

SUPERVISION OF FOREIGN-INDUCED CHANGE

Where foreigners are in a position to introduce change directly, at the grassroots, such activities are supervised. To prevent any one European power from obtaining too much influence in Ethiopia, the Emperor has always selected advisers and top technicians from different countries, especially those that are not colonial powers. Within three years after the liberation, which had been achieved with the considerable participation of British troops, British advisers were largely replaced by Swedes, Canadians, Germans, and in the last few years Americans. Also, the Ethiopian currency was quickly detached from the sterling bloc and pegged to the American dollar.

The Emperor himself received his first education in the French Catholic mission in Harar. Unlike the Italians, who closed even the French Catholic mission, the Emperor permitted the missions to resume their work. But the Missions Decree of 1944 set up conditions to assure that all mission work would benefit the national integration of Ethiopia and cause no disturbance of equilibrium. To this end, there was to be no conversion of Copts to other denominations; "closed areas" were declared in Coptic provinces where missionaries could do only nonspiritual work, e.g., operate a hospital, and had to employ an Ethiopian Coptic priest to teach Christianity. In "open

areas" (Muslim, "pagan," non-Copt), foreign missionaries could preach Christianity, but had to do so in the Amharic language, despite the fact that the common people of these provinces were not Amharic speaking. All missionaries had to learn Amharic before beginning their activities. Bibles could be distributed in the Amharic language but not in any of the Cushitic languages. Before receiving a permit to enter Ethiopia, a foreign mission had to submit evidence of its experience and reputation in other parts of the world and state what funds it would bring to Ethiopia. The Ministry of Education has been empowered to deport any missionary or close any mission found in violation of these rules.

When a Y.M.C.A. was first suggested by foreigners, the question arose as to how this first foreign-sponsored private social agency for Ethiopians should be supervised. It was finally given a charter by Imperial Proclamation in 1951 as the Y.M.C.A.E. (E. for Ethiopia), and placed under supervision of the Ministry of Interior. No specific regulations were cited in the proclamation, but it is understood that the funds for the new building have to be collected locally in Addis Ababa. The board of the new institution includes several Ethiopian Ministers and local Greek and Armenian residents who were born in Ethiopia.

American technicians arriving in the last few years are finding an increasingly warm atmosphere of welcome for their efforts. This began after June 14, 1951, when Dr. Henry G. Bennett, first over-all head of the Point Four program, personally negotiated with the Emperor the "umbrella agreement" for Point Four. A Point Four agricultural school was opened in Jimma, the coffee region of the southwest, in October 1952. The Point Four advisory staff attached to the Ministry of Education is busy on textbooks, on unification of the curricula of elementary schools, and on meaningful examinations that will change the traditional learning by rote. They compile cartographic material so that Ethiopian geography can be taught in addition to the presently taught European geography. Point Four physicians have organized a nursing school in the province of Begemdir, and their first job will be to prevent a recurrence of malaria epidemics north of Lake Tana. This is the beginning of a new chapter in Ethiopia's history.

POSTPONED CHANGE

Not all attempts to modernize have had such smooth sailing. Conscious of having to maintain equilibrium while promoting modernization, the Emperor listens carefully to the advice of men like his aged kinsman, Ras Kassa, who represents Amhara tradition and the view of the Abyssinian Church; and to another kinsman, Ras Imru, middle-aged hero of the war and recent ambassador to the United States, beloved in all the provinces

where he has served as governor-general, who represents the educated elite desiring modernization.

The biggest head-on issue in recent years, interestingly enough, was not on a political matter but a cultural one. It was the question whether or not the Amharic alphabet should be simplified. In 1948, various methods of doing this were proposed in an Amharic booklet entitled *Reform of the Alphabet*, published by a group that signed itself modestly "The Friends of Knowledge." These "Friends" consisted of Ras Imru, the historian-grammarian Blatta Marze Hazen, another Ethiopian official, and a Western scholar affiliated with the American National Council of Churches of Christ. The booklet was published under the auspices of the Ethiopian Ministry of Education. The present alphabet, which consists of 259 syllables composed of 37 consonants and at least 7 vowels clustered to form syllables, makes it difficult to teach writing to illiterate adults, children, and non-Amharic speakers, and to design typewriters (an awkward machine is now in use in some of the Ministries).

The conflict arose largely from the fact that most Amharic letters are directly derived from the old Geez, considered sacred because church liturgy and literature are written in it. Therefore, the Abyssinian Church rejected the idea of alphabet reform as sacrilegious. It is interesting that the Church took such a firm stand on this spiritual issue while it was quietly surrendering much of its temporal power (taxation of serfs, etc.). In this matter, the Emperor decided to postpone action until some unstated time in the future.

Another significant example of his decision to postpone is in the matter of land measurement in the old Abyssinian, Coptic provinces of Begemdir, Gojjam, and Tigre. In line with his efforts to end feudal land tenure and clear up the confusion of who owned what land, the Emperor decreed, shortly after the restoration in 1941, that all rural land be measured and registered. While this was done, by and large, in the southern provinces that Menelik had conquered, the northern, Coptic provinces refused. There, freehold kinship groups and the Church owned most of the fertile land. Rough border stones indicated customary ownership; different plots were cultivated or pastured from year to year; and many feared that if too many questions were asked, much of the unused land would be declared "government land" and assigned to tithe-paying (produce-tax) squatters, and that the land would be more highly taxed. These, indeed, were the actual developments in the southern provinces.

In the end, these northern provinces were permitted to remain unmeasured for the time being, continuing to pay a land tax according to the old rate of 1927, based on merely estimated holdings, as heretofore. But this is probably not the last word on the matter, as the process of uniformity does not lag far behind the active process of centralization.

RESISTANCE TO CHANGE—SOCIAL GROUPINGS

The old social stratification, especially in the rural provinces, constitutes the main "social static" that resists change. Kinship ties, equally strong on the father's side as on the mother's, act as change-resistant elements. An individual member finds it difficult to adopt an outlandish trait that the clan has not yet accepted. Land is usually owned by the patrilineal, patrilocal clan, and no individual can sell land assigned to him for cultivation by his own father. Sex stratification is not yet challenged since there are as yet very few educated women. Moreover, Abyssinian women traditionally enjoyed more legal and social freedoms than most other women in the Middle East.

Class stratification, despite some superficial alterations, continues much as before. The *telleq saw* (lit., big man; i.e., feudal lord) is still held in awe and imitated. He in turn usually resists any innovation that could be construed as the custom of the ex-slave class, particularly such lowland customs as smoking and chewing tobacco. When the women of the ex-slave class began to wear more anklets, bracelets, and metal hair ornaments, the ladies of nobility stopped wearing them. Since the ex-slave class originated from conquered ethnic groups, ethnic stratification can be largely considered as part of Ethiopian class stratification.

THE OLD NOBILITY AND THE NEW PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION

The process of sweeping away feudal power was begun by Emperor Haile Selassie during his Regency (1917-1929). The "Ras"² of the province lost their private armies. In 1930, the provincial governors lost the right to order capital punishment, which henceforth required the Emperor's signature. Although they could then still set up their own provincial administrations, they were appointed by the Emperor, and fewer of them were of the highest nobility as time went on. If they were, they were frequently shifted to another province.

A new system of provincial administration had been initiated by Menelik in the conquered territories to facilitate central control from Addis Ababa. The new "governor-general" was given the title "Ṭäqlay Agär Gej" (lit. Big Country Chief). Each province was divided into "Awraja," further into "Woräda." The present Emperor has extended this system to the northern provinces. For example, the Amhara province of Begemdir (capital, Gondar), consists of 6 Awraja, subdivided into 24 Woräda, and

² The best English equivalent for "Ras" (lit., head) is probably "duke," since, in the past, most ruled their own provinces and had private armies. Some translators prefer "governor," but not all governors had the title of "Ras," and the title is of military origin. This is why other translators prefer "marshal." But the title has now acquired a civilian connotation and very few governors today have the title of Ras, which indicates high nobility.

further into 255 Meketl-Woräda. The governor-general now appoints only the chiefs of the latter group. The higher chiefs are appointed or confirmed from Addis Ababa.

In 1942 central control was tightened. Each governor-general of the newly designed 12 provinces of Ethiopia was supplied with a director and a secretary appointed by the Emperor. The directors are educated young men, many of whom have studied abroad. They are capable and dedicated to the Emperor's policy of centralization and modernization. Their task is to watch quietly and check the governor-general, to supervise expenditure of funds, and to forward all accounts to the central Ministry of Finance. The governor-general, often a less educated member of a noble family, was forbidden by a decree of 1942 to make private treaties with another governor-general regarding boundaries or political or military matters.

Since the old structure of feudal nobility rested on the traditional land tenure (which remained after the other changes), that was the next point of attack. The approach was one of attempting to change the system from one of vague and uncontrollable "status" to firm "contract" by fixing the tenure — a difficult undertaking in the northern provinces. Here, most land was *rest*, i.e., freeholds held by kinship groups, to which any member can claim a share to grow produce on, even if he appears suddenly after generations — according to the old law. In the south, much of the land was *gult*, feudal fiefs which the owner held as reward for military and other services to the ruler, and which he could pass on to his sons only if they in turn accepted similar duties. The present Emperor made this system unnecessary by paying salaries for such service in the regular army. Complicating the picture was the factor that much of the actual working of the land was done by tenant farmers called *gabbar*, who, in the past, had to surrender most of their produce as rent to the immediate landlord, pay an additional 10 percent produce tax (*asrat*) to the higher feudal lord, and also help supply all passing troops, travellers, and guests of the ruler.

By steps, Haile Selassie has been trying to abolish the *gabbar* system. First he freed the *gabbar* serf from the corvée services to the landlord. Many landlords, including the Church, lost their special immunity from taxation. In areas where former serfs had left or land was not being cultivated, some former owners gave up their land to the government voluntarily to avoid the land tax (which is due no matter whether the land is worked or not.) Landless ex-serfs could settle on such land, clear the quickly growing bush, and begin to pay the *asrat* to the government treasury. After a few years they could go to court, claim ownership on the basis of *asrat* receipts, have the land measured, and be declared legal owners. In areas where land is plentiful, ex-serfs have been leaving their landlords but have been hesitant to do so where fertile land is not readily available.

The landlord in turn is partly compensated by receiving fixidity of tenure in exchange for his former privileges, provided the land has been measured.

In the north, the clans resist measurement, as has been mentioned. The resident Amhara clan does not permit a member to let any family land be alienated in the above described fashion. Thus, in actual practice, such redistribution is more likely to take place in the south and the central province of Shoa. Here, a number of small landlords, having lost their former serfs, have been migrating to Addis Ababa, swelling the population there in recent years. But rumors that the change will somehow penetrate northward are now a topic of worried discussion among the Amhara peasant clans as far north as the province of Begemdir-Semyen, and they are keeping a sharp eye out against migrant squatters and on their own tenants.

Nearly all this land reform began only after 1942, and it is remarkable how much progress has been made by the Emperor when one considers the age-old obstacles. Twice a year, during the dry season, he travels through the provinces. He encourages the governors to do the same to see that the new laws are carried out and that centralization is pushed forward gradually against the inertia of the old culture.

THE ROLE OF THE ABYSSINIAN COPTIC CHURCH

In this process of change the role of the Church has also largely been one of inertia and passive resistance. The head of the Church is the Abuna, who formerly was always an Egyptian Coptic monk under the jurisdiction of the Coptic Metropolitan of Alexandria, and who frequently did not learn Amharic. This old tie with Egypt was finally dissolved in 1948 after a long struggle for independence supported by the Emperor.

A devout Copt in spiritual matters, the Emperor has removed much of the temporal power of the Church and emphasized its spiritual influence. In accordance with a decree of 1942, the Church lost certain powers of personal and legal jurisdiction over members of the Coptic religion: it could no longer order the imprisonment of recalcitrant husbands or wives; on the other hand, it could no longer grant asylum to a criminal seeking refuge in the sanctuary. In effect, the Church was suddenly declared changed from a medieval to a modern, Western-like status.

In the same year the Church lost the right to certain dues and corvée labor previously owed by the *gabbar* tenant living on Church land. During the years that followed, protests accumulated from the awakened leaders of the Church, especially after the emotions of the liberation had run their course. As a result, a proclamation in 1947 restored some of the tax rights for purposes of the operation and upkeep of Church schools, and food, firewood, and small salaries for the priests and other persons attached to the Church. Some observers have estimated the past personnel of the Coptic

Church of Abyssinia as high as a fifth of the Coptic male population, including priests, monks, *dābtāra* (scribes-choristers), and boy deacons. The percentage has now probably dropped.

The Church still has jurisdiction over the very small percentage of eucharistic marriages it performs. But even the majority of Copts who marry without this rite, preferring marriage by kinship arrangement, receive the blessing of the priest who attends the private ceremony. This priest (*mānfās gubae*) is later consulted with regard to divorce (which is not possible in case of eucharistic marriage), separation, custody of children, mutual dowries, etc. Also, every Copt has his *nāfs abbat*, lit., "soul father," his personal confessor.

To strengthen the spiritual aspect and influence of the Church, the Emperor has been urging an "educated clergy," and has founded a Theological College in Addis Ababa. He would like, in time, every Ethiopian to read the Bible for himself, in *Amharic*.

Although the Abyssinian Church regards itself as "unchanging," and, indeed, uses the term "Orthodox" in the official English translation of its title, it has seen changes that an earlier generation of priests would have abhorred. The traditional yellow robes of monks are now worn only in small and remote monasteries, being replaced by white cotton and black chintz elsewhere; the latter, made of imported material, is obviously a foreign influence. In the past, priests that became widowers could not remarry. Now they can obtain special ecclesiastical permission to marry a *qeseñña*, a widow of a priest.

Separation of the sexes in church is breaking down in Addis Ababa. Women may now enter the two largest Coptic churches in the capital, where there are separate benches for them to sit on. In the provinces, they must still remain in the churchyard, and no one sits during services (there are bamboo poles to lean on).

Thus, even this most change-resistant institution is being "modernized," and there is no doubt that the Emperor is aware of the significance of a national church to his program of centralization.

CHANGE IN VALUES AND PATTERNS OF LIVING: ADDIS ABABA AND THE EDUCATED ELITE

Addis Ababa is the center and focal point of change, which fans out from there by every available means of communication. Westernization, in the sense of imitation of the foreigner's ways of doing things, is now well established in the capital among the educated and semieducated. In Addis Ababa it has become a matter of prestige not only for government officials but for lower clerks and even messengers to wear a European wool jacket

and tie. Point Four technicians have found that if their messengers are so attired they receive instant attention instead of having to wait a long time.

Semantic change closely reflects the change in values. Before the time of Menelik, the address *ato* (Mister) was applied only to sons of nobles; then it was extended to respected married men of the common class of Amhara; now it is applied to almost anyone as everyday politeness. A parallel change occurred in the use of *woyzäro* for women, which once meant "noble lady," and now just "Mrs." In the last few years the young educated elite has invented another address for a new cultural phenomenon that never existed before: *woyzarit* for an adult, unmarried "Miss." Previously all girls were married before reaching full adulthood, but the establishment of girls' high schools in Addis Ababa during the past decade created this new concept and need to name it. The term is still unknown in the provinces.

One can use the observance of religious food taboos and practice of smoking to outline a rough scale of acculturation. At one extreme, the greatest observance of food taboos is found in the Coptic provinces, equally among the peasants, inhabitants of the towns, and semi-educated officials. Here, a foreign-educated official desiring to eat meat or drink milk on a Wednesday, Friday, or during Lent would not dare to send a servant publicly to the market to buy an animal for slaughter. But he will smoke in public when no priests are present, for because of his education and position he does not fear that smoking will cause him to be regarded as an ex-slave of lowland origin. However, he will hesitate to be seen eating meat of an animal slaughtered by a Muslim, over which the formula, "In the name of Allah the All-Merciful and Muhammad His Prophet," has been pronounced, instead of the Coptic formula, "In the name of the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, One Divinity" (the latter in reference to the Monophysite doctrine of the Copts). Still less would he want to be seen eating the flesh of *asamma*, the pig, which is not raised in the Coptic provinces, apart from Addis Ababa.

In Addis Ababa the uneducated still observe the fasts; the semi-educated less so, though they would not eat Muslim meat. Even the educated, who would dine with a Muslim friend, would not eat pork with a European unless he had been educated abroad. The change in Addis Ababa can be contrasted to 1907, when the first restaurant to open there advertised "Special meals for fast days and non-fast days." Today one sees no such signs.

Another scale of culture change, with the rural province at one end and Addis Ababa at the other, can be drawn from the degree of intermarriage between ethnic groups. This occurs much more in Shoa, between Amhara, Galla, and Gurage, than in the northern provinces. But marriage across

religious lines, or with ex-slaves of negroid Shanqalla origin, is still rare even in Addis Ababa.

Among other changes in Addis Ababa not found, or rare, in the provinces are prestige of the foreigner; open marriage ceremonies at which the bride is neither heavily veiled nor ceremoniously "abducted"; the desire of educated officials to have at least a semieducated wife; the slow but noticeable growth of eucharistic marriages because of a kind of "snob appeal"; self-consciousness among the educated about their culture being regarded as backward; the doubt among some of the returning students who have been exposed to the company of West Africans abroad as to whether they should accept the idea of pan-Africanism or continue to uphold the official epic of the Queen of Sheba and King Solomon.

Among the educated elite there is a beginning of self-study that was previously nonexistent. A novel has been published on the experiences of a returning student, as well as a play about the adjustment a provincial adult has to make when he moves to Addis Ababa. This play has been performed by the "Agär Feqer" (lit., Love of Country) troupe which acts in a public hall on Sundays and is sponsored by His Excellency Makonnen Habtewold, Minister of Press, Information, and Finance. At the new College of Addis Ababa there has come into existence an Ethnology Society, which has so far specialized in visiting Coptic monasteries that previously had not welcomed visitors but are accessible now. In 1953 the new Department of Antiquities was planning the excavation of Aksum.

But even in Addis Ababa some of the old values persist: weekly attendance by officials in the Imperial courtyard (*dāj tenat*); witty and ribald country proverbs; dislike of vegetables classed with "cabbage" and considered "poor food"; fondness for *brundo* (raw beef) on feasts.

For all, educated and uneducated alike, the Emperor remains the "father figure" par excellence. The students feel a very real personal debt to him and are deeply moved when they come to pay their respects and see the bearded, serious yet kindly, face, flanked by his two eldest sons, whom he takes to the High Court once a week to train them for their future duties.

VALUES IN THE AMHARA PROVINCES

Residence in the provinces, outside the provincial capitals and few towns, is largely in scattered hamlets situated on hills where the floods of the rainy season cannot reach. Because of relative isolation, old patterns tend to persist and local pride is fierce. The following are a few examples:

Caste lines, particularly with regard to tanners and ironsmiths, continue along ethnic lines; amulets are openly worn in considerable quantity by women; litigants demand immediate justice, and "curbstone judges" arbitrate as of old; an individual warrior hero is greatly admired, but an uni-

formed dandy (e.g., the new, ill-paid police) is mocked; the "big man" (feudal lord) is deferred to and imitated; the foreigner is not especially admired, despite his gadgets, and if he is a mechanic who gets grease on his face he is regarded as decidedly "low-class"; the respected occupations are those of freehold peasant, priest, scribe, and warrior. The provincial does not want a semi-educated wife who might disobey him; he is hospitable and until recently did not bother to sell chickens and eggs; even in the provincial town he prefers to bury his money or lend it to an Arab trader, not out of distrust for the State Bank but because the new, cold institution seems so impersonal and he does not regard the money he sweated over as "cold cash." Semi-educated teachers in provincial elementary schools teach that the earth is round, but often do not believe it themselves.

To seal agreements and on many other occasions the traditional formula, "Haile Selassie yemut" ("May the emperor die," if I break my word), is still used and is not being suppressed. Indeed, it is a sign of recognition, loyalty, and trust toward the present Emperor: during his Regency the Amhara peasant continued to swear by the deceased Menelik or provincial lords such as Ras Gugsä.

But value change is also found in the province: there is an increase in prudishness, and the old custom of stripping and bathing in the blessed pool on Epiphany is now followed only by some young boys and a few old, unashamedly rustic peasants. The "needle" of the European physician has gained a high reputation; penicillin is widely sold, and for a small fee any "dresser" will privately give the injection.

Improved communications have gradually facilitated migration and introduced some occupations. The foot-operated Singer sewing machine has become popular in the provinces, and rows of tailors in provincial towns produce khaki shorts, jackets, white jodphurs, narrow-sleeved shirts, etc. In order not to shame their families by doing manual labor, the tailors often migrate to another province; most tailors in Gondar are thus from the province of Gojjam.

THE OUTLOOK

The long period when Ethiopia constituted a cultural museum in the Middle East is now over. As Emperor Haile Selassie indicated in his speech before the U.S. Congress in 1954, his country will not again isolate itself, as it did for over 200 years after the unhappy Portuguese experience. The ideas and principles of the Emperor — centralization and modernization — are gradually but increasingly accepted even by the proud nobility and the Church. Resistance to change has not usually taken the form of conscious banding together by ultra-conservative forces, but rather of the passive power of inertia. Paradoxical though it may seem, more resistance has come

from some of the tradition-bound Amhara conservatives who are most bound to follow the representative of the "Solomonic dynasty" than from the people of the formerly conquered Galla.

Unlike some other Middle East countries, in Ethiopia it is not the dissatisfied elements who are the major change-agents. On the contrary, it is the traditional hierarchy, still basically intact, which makes change possible mainly from the top down. One may expect, however, that as education and semi-education multiply, more of the people at large will "learn the art of representation," as the Emperor put it.

In looking for parallel situations, one finds partial ones in the histories of Japan and Turkey. In fact, the Emperor himself once took great interest in Japan as a modern power, the first non-Western nation to arise in modern times through selective assimilation of European procedures. In Turkey, Kemal Atatürk, as head of state, was the major change-agent. But there is not yet in Ethiopia a whole generation of "Young Turks." The next generation may well develop that way, forming an intelligentsia like that of the Middle Eastern countries on the Mediterranean, for concern with intellectual activity is deeply rooted in old Abyssinia and has had to await only direction outward instead of inward, plus time, to develop. However, a major cultural innovation that remains for the next generation to introduce is that of delegating authority.

Meanwhile Ethiopia continues to consist largely of folk societies, with very few real urban centers. There is still a cultural continuum from the upper to the lower class. The cleavage between strata of society found in other Middle East countries is not nearly so wide in Ethiopia, and old ethnic cleavages are being filled in through the softening of caste lines, cultural Amharization, religious conversion, intermarriage, and appointment to office in the central government.

Ethiopia is an underdeveloped, but not a poor, country. There is no starvation. There is a surplus of grain and cattle available for export, if processing industries are developed. A United Nations study in 1951 concluded that Ethiopia had the most unused arable acreage in the Middle East. There may also be other mineral resources such as oil. It is a country in which the usual change-agents — the agricultural extension expert, the engineer, the modern midwife — are only now arriving. It is a country largely of subsistence agriculture, with only the beginnings of a middle class of craftsmen and merchants, not to speak of professionals. When that new phase of Ethiopian history develops, with the arrival of the industrial age, a cash economy, and emphasis on mechanical skills, the nonmaterial and spiritual culture of this ancient land will probably be changed more deeply and more rapidly than it has up to now.

DEVELOPMENTS OF THE QUARTER: COMMENT AND CHRONOLOGY

THE MIDDLE EAST, in the autumn of 1955, was boxed in by crises which had come to a head during the summer. In the west, tension over the future status of Morocco and Algeria broke out anew in bloody riots and terrorism. In the east, the Pakistani elections for the National Assembly resulted in a serious setback for the Muslim League. Although a coalition government was formed on August 12, the basic problems which had kept Pakistan in a prolonged domestic crisis were far from resolved: the unification of Western Pakistan, the drafting of a constitution, the relationship between West and East Pakistan, and the question of Kashmir. On the north, in Turkey, anti-Greek feeling engendered by the Cyprus issue suddenly burst forth on September 6-7 in violent anti-minority riots in Istanbul and Izmir, while on the island of Cyprus itself, agitation for *enosis* had come to be the overriding concern of the local government. Finally, in the heart of the Middle East, the crisis on the Israeli-Egyptian frontier, touched off by the Israeli raid of February 28, resisted prolonged efforts at pacification and finally brought in its train — just as hopes were raised for the return of a peaceful border — Egypt's announcement on September 27 that it had entered into an arrangement with Czechoslovakia to barter cotton for arms. Each of these crises was of major concern to the United States and the structure of regional defense which it had been attempting to build over the past five years.

The Moroccan Impasse

The Moroccan problem is complicated by the fact that it is a three-cornered struggle. It would be difficult for a French government, even with the best of intentions, to effect at this late date an agreement with Moroccan nationalists which would safeguard the interests of the one and forward the aspirations of the other. The task is made doubly difficult by the unyielding opposition of the French *colons* in

Morocco, who have attempted to frustrate official French policy by every means. In one particular they have themselves to blame for the present crisis, because it was the French *colons* themselves who had engineered the removal of Sultan Mohammed ben Youssef on August 20, 1953, thus making him the martyred symbol around which a Moroccan Arab-Berber nationalist movement could crystallize.

Negotiations between the French government and Moroccan representatives opened in Aix-les-Bains on August 22. It was soon agreed to clear the slate for a fresh start by the removal of reform-minded Resident-General Grandval and the "departure" of Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa, the former being *persona non grata* to the French *colons* and conservatives and the latter to the French liberals and Moroccan nationalists. What should follow, however, was not so easily determined. The "Grandval plan" had been that the Sultan, or a regency council in his stead, would form a government representative of all shades of Moroccan opinion. This government would then begin work on a program of basic, far-reaching reforms. However, the Sultan, abetted by the French *colons* and their instrument, the Berber el-Glaoui Pasha, refused to cooperate in the formation of any government which included elements hostile to him or the French settlers in Morocco, or to abdicate as part of a plan by which such a government would be formed under a regency.

As a result of this right-wing pressure, the declaration of principles which the French government finally laid down on September 12 unequivocally upheld "the recognized rights of beneficiary powers" resulting from treaties concerning Morocco, "the permanence of the presence of France in Morocco," and "recognition of the position and rights acquired by the body of Frenchmen in Morocco," as well as "respect of Moroccan sovereignty and the integrity of the Sherifian Empire." The declaration went on to state that the Moroccan "elite" "should be entrusted with increasingly

large responsibilities in the running of public affairs." To this end, the French government "is ready to examine with a representative Moroccan government the fields in which it would be possible to proceed by common agreement to the reorganization and progressive abolition of the system of control"; the French government would also work for a solution of the crisis regarding the throne, presumably through the device of a regency council. The proposed Moroccan government would "be representative of various tendencies of opinion and of different sections of the populations . . . but will include . . . the presence of French technicians." This government would immediately direct public affairs "within the framework of the Treaty of Fez," and would work out, in agreement with the French government, "the modern democratic institutions with which Morocco should be endowed," and determine "the rights and interests of France and the French in Morocco and . . . the permanent links which will unite the two countries in the future." The links would reserve to France its responsibilities in the sphere of defense and foreign affairs, but would otherwise erect an association of the two states based on such institutions as a joint council to deal with matters of common interest and a joint judicial body. The association of states would also recognize the reciprocal rights of its respective communities in economic, political, administrative, and judicial spheres.¹

It will be noted that France's pledges to Morocco were vaguely stated, and they were only tentatively accepted by the Moroccan nationalist representatives. The test of good faith would lie in the extent to which the French government could give substance to its promises, and the first test was immediate: the ability of the Faure Government to remove the Sultan and appoint a regency council which would represent the pro-nationalist as well as the pro-colon and French reformist points of view. The Sultan finally departed for Tangier on October 1, but insisted that he had vacated the throne in favor of a distant cousin, not a representative regency council. This was unacceptable to the nationalists and guerrilla action immediately began to break out in northern Morocco, close to the frontier of the Spanish Zone. The Moroccan agreement, if such it could be called, was thus still extremely

tenuous; not even the basis for a constructive effort had yet been laid.

The French government's decision to push through reforms in Morocco was being compromised by concurrent events in Algeria. Here guerrilla activity was on an even more widespread and serious scale than in Morocco, yet the only policy which the government could adopt at the moment was to meet force with force. For once, French opinion was unanimous in insisting that Algeria, by virtue of the Statute of 1947, was an integral part of France. Liberal French thinkers agreed that the provisions of the Statute setting up a special regime for Algeria might be applied more sincerely but not in such a way as to weaken its relationship to metropolitan France. But despite Algeria's legal incorporation into France, it was clear to the Algerians that they were not Frenchmen, or even treated as such. Fifteen Arab and Asiatic nations, in support of the Algerian cause, submitted it to the United Nations, and on September 29 the General Assembly, by a 28-27 count, voted to place the Algerian problem on its agenda. France's immediate reaction was a boycott of the Assembly. The North African atmosphere was thus further embittered, and the time ill-favored for negotiation and compromise.

Egyptian Arms Agreement

Egypt's announcement on September 27 that it would buy arms from Czechoslovakia came as a shock to both Israel, the country most directly affected, and the Western powers which had been attempting the difficult task of building strength in the Arab world through faith and good works. Egypt acted from a variety of motives. It was impatient and disillusioned with the United States for refusing to build up its strength to equal that of Israel, which had recently acquired, through the purchase of tanks in France, a mobile "defensive" striking force of considerable power. Since the Israeli retaliatory raid on the Gaza Strip in February, Egypt had entertained genuine fears of an Israeli offensive. Finally, the agreement was possibly Egypt's reply to Iraq's decision in February to join the U.S.-supported "northern tier" of defense anchored on Turkey and Pakistan. A purchase of arms from Czechoslovakia, which was tantamount to a purchase from the Soviet Union, would offset Iraq's enhanced prestige and at the same time cur-

¹ For complete text see *New York Times*, Oct. 2, 1955.

popular favor at home by snubbing the United States for its Palestine, arms, and regional defense policies.

To Israel, the development posed a serious threat. It had itself in the past relied heavily on arms purchased in Czechoslovakia, so on that score alone there was no basis on which it could logically criticize Egypt. It did, however, argue the point that whereas its own motives had been defensive, Egypt was bound on aggression. But this argument was a convenient rationalization, for the necessity of which Israel had itself to blame. In the first place, the very creation of Israel was the intrusive element which had laid the basis for an arms race in the Middle East; an attempt to throw the blame on Egypt because it would not make peace with Israel did not alter this fact. Secondly, Israel's actions since 1948 — the creation and boasting of a strong army, the demonstration of its swift striking force in repeated raids across the borders, the insistence that the West, in particular the United States, keep the Arab countries militarily weak, Ben Gurion's recent declaration that Israel would settle the issue of free access to the Gulf of Aqaba by force if necessary — all this following upon the defeat of Egyptian arms in the Palestine war and bolstered by intercepted reports of shipments of heavy arms to Israel from the West was calculated to put Egypt's military rulers on edge. Israel may have felt compelled to take these steps; nevertheless it was these steps as much as Arab intransigence which had brought about the present turn of events.

To the United States the Egyptian development was equally disturbing, though with a broader reference. The past year had seen, at last, some advance in American efforts to develop a regional defense for the Middle East. The foundation for a "northern tier" of defense had been laid by a series of bilateral treaties between Turkey, Pakistan, the United States, Iraq, and Great Britain — the inclusion of Iraq in the system pointed toward a measure of Arab cooperation which it was hoped might bring other Arab states in its train. But the U.S. position in the Arab world was nevertheless still insecure. Its support of Israel had undermined any moral influence it might have hoped to exert over the Arab governments and had made offers of material assistance ineffective as a builder of cordial relations. The necessity of keeping the peace by balancing the power of Israel and the Arab states at a fairly

low level prevented any all-out effort to build up the strength of the area. Such a policy could succeed only so long as the U.S. controlled all sources of support, but this unfortunately is not the case. Egypt's Soviet gambit — if such it is — has brought home the basic dilemma: the influence of the United States is so weak that it cannot maintain the balance of power, or redress it, once it is upset, without arousing further antagonism.

Riots in Turkey

Problems in the Middle East never come singly: the adjustment of Britain's position in Suez stimulated a Greek movement for the removal of British administration from Cyprus and the incorporation of that island with the "motherland." This in turn brought Turkish opposition in the interests of the Turkish minority on Cyprus, which strained the friendly Greco-Turkish relations essential to a smooth functioning of NATO in the Eastern Mediterranean. No one was prepared, however, for the ferocity of the anti-Greek rioting which overwhelmed Istanbul and Izmir on September 6 and 7. An anti-Greek "demonstration" apparently had had the sanction of the government, but as in the case of the notorious Capital Levy of 1942-43, those to whom its organization was entrusted proved to be overzealous in their dedication to the task. The nature of the forces let loose, with economic and psychological as well as political overtones, came as a shock to the Turkish government as well as to the Greek and the U.S. To the Turks it exposed a dangerous undercurrent of pent-up feeling among the urban lower classes which might turn against the government itself if the inflationary trend were not halted or if it were not given some constructive outlet. To the Greeks it illustrated how superficial Greco-Turkish amity still is; to the U.S. it was another step in its gradual disillusionment with Turkish "democracy" and financial self-discipline. Hitherto Turkey had been regarded as a bulwark, not only because of its determined antipathy toward the Soviet Union, but also because of its internal stability, assets not entirely shared by its partner, Pakistan. This confidence, already shaken by Turkey's headlong economic policies and repressive laws toward the political opposition, now received a serious setback which would not be easily overcome.

Chronology

JUNE 1 — AUGUST 31, 1955

General

1955

June 3: A 10-day meeting of the Near and Middle East Economic Conference ended in Beirut. In addition to a series of general resolutions, the Conference recommended to the 15 member states that a permanent Regional Economic Organization be established in Beirut. It was also recommended that the next session of the conference be held in November 1956.

Aden and Aden Protectorate

(See also Arab League)

1955

June 15: Two British officers in a government convoy were killed by Rabizi tribesmen in the north of the Protectorate.

June 21: Tribal forces in the Mukalla area attacked and cut off 500 government soldiers after the government ordered the substitution of its lorries for camel transport between Mukalla and Wadi Hadramaut.

June 28: The surrounded troops were rescued with the aid of British jets.

July 1: Nearly 1,000 British troops were flown into Aden from Suez to assist the local government levies and British air force.

July 10: The Aden government accused Yemen of supplying cash, grain, arms, and ammunition to the rebellious tribes.

July 12: Yemen denied the British claims and stated that the real reason for the recent difficulties was that the tribes had been "robbed of their livelihood by decree."

Afghanistan

(See also Pakistan)

1955

July 14: Afghanistan became a member of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.

July 28: The government ended the state of emergency and demobilized the conscripts who had been called up following Pakistan's demand for amends for the attack on its embassy in Kabul on March 30.

Aug. 10: Afghanistan agreed to stop hostile propaganda directed against Pakistan.

A 5-year agreement with the USSR was ratified. Under its terms, each party was to be allowed free transit across the territory of the other.

Algeria

(See also Arab League, Egypt, Iraq)

1955

June 3: As terrorist attacks continued, the government announced that 9,000 veterans were being recalled for duty with the army in Algeria.

June 8: It was reported that Governor-General Jacques Soustelle had proposed the following major changes in Algerian policy to the Faure government: further troop reinforcements; the beginning of a program of public works; lower prices on foodstuffs; and increased decentralization of the government.

June 11: The French Minister of Defense announced that a division of France's NATO-committed troops was being sent to Algeria.

June 15: The French Cabinet gave its qualified approval to Governor-General Soustelle's reform plans. It was made clear that the idea of Algerian autonomy was rejected and that instead, Algeria would be integrated more fully into the French nation, although there would be increased Arab participation in a decentralized Algerian government.

June 21-28: Serious violence continued in eastern Algeria.

July 3: The French Socialist Party announced that it favored a new Algerian electoral law which would give equal rights to both Arabs and French. In Algeria, the government announced that some 3,000 persons had been rounded up during the weekend, mostly in the Constantine area.

July 30: French troops trapped a band of the Muslim insurgent "Army of God" in eastern Algeria.

Aug. 7: Thirteen French casualties resulted from scattered nationalist attacks on French troops.

Aug. 20: Nearly 200 Arabs and French troops were killed as a result of terrorist outbreaks marking the second anniversary of the deposition of the exiled Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef.

Aug. 21: Deaths among Arabs reached 469, while 69 Frenchmen were killed. Arab attacks were centered in the Constantine area.

Aug. 22: French troops leveled 9 villages in the vicinity of Constantine which were thought to have been the center of the local terrorist organizations. The death toll approached 1,000.

Aug. 23: Iraq, Lebanon, Burma, Egypt, Liberia, Iran, and India asked UN Secretary-General Hammarskjöld to assist in halting the bloodshed in French North Africa. The French government announced that it was calling up additional re-

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serves to reinforce garrisons in Algeria and Morocco.

Aug. 25: France notified NATO that another contingent of troops would soon be sent to North Africa, leaving only two of the five NATO-committed divisions on the continent. The first contingent of 6 battalions would be sent to Algeria.

Aug. 26: The International Bank announced a loan of \$10 million for additional electric power development in Algeria.

Arab League

1955
June 9: It was announced in Damascus that agreement had been reached on 6 major points in the proposed tripartite pact between Egypt, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. The agreement would provide for a common foreign policy, a joint economic planning council, an Arab bank, and the establishment of a combined army with headquarters in Damascus. Lebanon, aided by the League's Secretary-General, continued to use its good offices to try to heal the disagreement between Egypt and Iraq over the Iraqi-Turkish pact.

Aug. 6: In a note to all League members, the Secretariat proposed that an Arab League General Assembly be established to serve in an advisory capacity to the League Council. The Assembly delegates would be members of the parliaments and other institutions in the member states.

Aug. 11: The Secretary General announced that the League Political Committee would meet on September 3.

Aug. 16: It was announced that the League Council would meet on October 1 to discuss general political matters, Oman's membership application, the condition of Palestinians on Cyprus, the establishment of a League aviation council, and other matters.

Cyprus

(See also Arab League)

1955
June 19: Three bombs were thrown at British public and private buildings.

June 30: Britain issued invitations to Greece and Turkey to join in a conference on "political and defense questions which affect the Eastern Mediterranean, including Cyprus."

Aug. 18: British troops rounded up 33 suspected Greek terrorists.

Aug. 24: Archbishop Makarios, leader of the Greek community on Cyprus, predicted that the London talks would fail, criticized the failure to include a Cyprus delegation in the conference, and said that no agreement would be considered binding unless ratified by the inhabitants of the island.

Aug. 25: The Turkish delegation to London said that it favored maintaining the status quo on Cyprus, though if a change became necessary, the island should revert to Turkey.

Aug. 29: The British-Greek-Turkish Foreign Ministers' conference opened in London.

Egypt

(See also Algeria, Arab League, Pakistan, Palestine Problem, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Syria)

1955

June 1: Egypt and France initialed a Trade and Payments Agreement whereby French industry would contribute to some of Egypt's development projects and France would buy much of its cotton requirements from Egypt.

June 5: Prime Minister Nehru of India, en route to Moscow, talked for an hour at the Cairo airport with Prime Minister 'Abd al-Nasir and other Egyptian leaders.

June 9: The government announced that the Alexandria cotton futures market, which had been closed since November 1952, would reopen in September.

June 16: Sir Ralph Richardson, British ambassador in Cairo since 1950, retired. He was to be succeeded by Sir Humphrey Trevelyan.

June 20: The third phase of the British evacuation of the Suez began. It was expected that by October 75% of the British troops would have been withdrawn.

June 28: Egypt's budget for 1955-56 was approved. It totalled £E 315,259,572, the largest in the country's history.

June 29: The Minister of Waqfs returned from an official visit to the Far East, including Communist China.

July 3: Egyptian shore batteries fired at the British ship *Anshun* which was passing through the mouth of the Gulf of Aqaba bound for Aqaba.

July 6: Britain protested Egypt's "unwarranted" interference with the *Anshun's* right of passage.

July 11: Prime Minister Nehru of India spent 24 hours in Cairo on his return trip to Delhi. Prime Minister Nasir and he announced their general agreement on the international matters they discussed.

July 18: The British Embassy protested the "violent" attacks in the Egyptian press on Britain's role in the Buraimi Oasis dispute.

July 19: President Soekarno of Indonesia arrived for a 6-day state visit.

Egypt and Czechoslovakia signed a most-favored-nation trade agreement by which Egypt would buy machinery from Czechoslovakia in exchange for cotton, rice, and textiles.

July 22: Prime Minister Nasir inaugurated the festivities marking the 3rd anniversary of the Egyptian revolution. In a three-and-a-half hour speech he reviewed the accomplishments of his regime and again promised that "parliament will be inaugurated in January."

July 25: London announced that two destroyers would soon be sold to Egypt, the aim being to balance the two sold to Israel earlier.

- Egypt offered its official regrets at the shelling of the *Anshun* in the Gulf of Aqaba.
- Aug. 9:* Prime Minister Nasir accepted an invitation to visit Moscow in the spring.
- Aug. 10:* An Egyptian trade delegation arrived in Peiping.
- Aug. 11:* After negotiations with Communist Chinese officials in Cairo, it was announced that China had agreed to buy about £E 8 million worth of Egyptian cotton.
- Aug. 25:* The government took over operation of the Sugar Company of Egypt because of back taxes owed by the managing director, Ahmad Aboud.
- Aug. 30:* Britain and Egypt agreed on a means of settlement of Britain's wartime debt to Egypt. The total remaining debt of £135 million (about £265 million had already been paid under an agreement of 1951) would be returned to Egypt in annual payments ending in 1963.
- Aug. 31:* It was announced that Major Salah Salim had resigned from his ministerial positions, although there was no word on his place as a member of the Revolutionary Command Council. Prime Minister Nasir would assume the duties of Minister for Sudanese Affairs; the new Minister for National Guidance would be Lieutenant-Colonel 'Abd al-Qadir Hatim, the present director-general for information.

Ethiopia and Eritrea

1955

- June 1:* Emperor Haile Selassie accepted an invitation to visit India at an unannounced date.
- July 29:* Dejasmatch Tedla Bairu, head of the Eritrean government, resigned for "health reasons." This followed by only a few days the resignation of the chairman of the Eritrean assembly. Both men had been accused of acting unconstitutionally by Emperor Haile Selassie.

India

(See also Algeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Kashmir, Pakistan)

1955

- June 1:* V. K. Krishna Menon left en route to London and New York in his continued activity as intermediary between Communist China and the United States.
- June 4:* Prime Minister Nehru left for a 16-day visit to the USSR.
- June 8:* India announced a plan for using the immovable property left behind by Muslims who had emigrated to Pakistan as a basis for the settlement of the millions of Hindu refugees from Pakistan.

Portugal stated that attacks on its enclaves in India would be met by force.

June 18: It was announced that India had accepted the Soviet Union's offer to modernize the diamond industry at Panna.

June 23: Prime Minister Nehru left Moscow, calling for a ban on the "production, experimentation, and use" of nuclear weapons.

July 4: The India Communist Party disclosed new plans to cooperate with the Nehru government in its internal development projects.

July 7: Prime Minister Nehru left Yugoslavia after a 7-day visit.

July 8: Prime Minister Nehru arrived in London for talks with government officials.

July 13: Prime Minister Nehru returned to New Delhi.

July 25: Prime Minister Nehru requested that the Portuguese Legation in New Delhi be closed as of August 8 because of Portugal's refusal to negotiate on the Goa question. Railroad traffic into Goa was suspended.

Aug. 3: One Indian was killed by Portuguese fire when a small band of Indians attempted to march into Goa.

Enactment of India's first divorce law was completed. Action was begun on another bill which would permit daughters to share equally with their brothers in the estate of their parents.

Aug. 9: India's dock workers refused to handle the cargo of any ship bound for Goa.

Aug. 15: About 5,000 unarmed Indians marched against the Portuguese enclaves of Goa, Diu, and Damao. At least 13 were killed and 120 wounded by Portuguese police.

Aug. 16: As the peaceful resistance movement leaders called off the invasion of Portuguese enclaves, riots broke out in several of India's larger cities. The rioters, protesting the Portuguese shootings, attacked the Portuguese consulates in Bombay and Calcutta. In New Delhi, Prime Minister Nehru termed the Portuguese action "brutal."

Aug. 18: Troops were dispatched to northeast India to suppress violence by Naga tribesmen.

Aug. 19: India, in retaliation for the deaths at Goa, announced that all Portuguese consulates must be closed by September 1, thus ending the last diplomatic tie between the two countries.

Some 80,000 Hindu refugees from Pakistan demonstrated in New Delhi after the government had increased their rent for market stalls.

Aug. 22: A resolution of India's lower house approved the government's recommendations for a new press control law involving regulations on the commercial, advertising, and management structure of papers. It was thought by many to be an attack on monopolistic ownership of papers.

Aug. 31: The All-India Port and Dock Workers Federation decided to boycott all ships of companies trading with Goa, effective October 1.

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Iran

(See also Algeria, Iraq)

1955

- June 1:* Eleven tons of long-promised gold were returned by the USSR, which also promised to pay back in kind Iranian goods used during World War II up to a value of about £3 million.
- July 13:* The Shah accepted an invitation to visit the Soviet Union at an unannounced future date.
- July 31:* Prime Minister Hussein Ala won a vote of confidence from the Majlis, by a vote of 72 to 6, with 1 abstention.
- Aug. 9:* King Sa'ud of Arabia arrived in Tehran for a week's visit.
- Aug. 15:* The United States and Iran signed a treaty of friendship, economic relations, and consular rights.
- Aug. 17:* The Export-Import Bank announced loans totalling \$14 million to assist Iran in shifting part of its railroad equipment to diesel power.
- Aug. 21:* Prime Minister Ala made two changes in his cabinet: Dr. Mohammad Sadjadi replaced Dr. 'Ali Amini as Finance Minister and General Ahmad Vosogh was appointed War Minister in place of General 'Abdollah Hedayat.
- Aug. 22:* The Court announced that President Bayar of Turkey would visit the Shah for ten days, beginning September 19.
- Aug. 24:* Army, navy, and air force affairs were placed under a combined General Staff headed by General 'Abdollah Hedayat, former War Minister.

Iraq

(See also Algeria, Arab League, Pakistan)

1955

- June 6:* A military mission of senior Iraqi officers left for consultations in Turkey.
- June 11:* The Iraqi cabinet approved a 5-year plan for development of the nation's resources.
- June 22:* King Faysal left for a summer of official and unofficial visits in Lebanon, Turkey, England, and Western Europe.
- June 27:* The Saudi Arabian Director of Oil Affairs discussed a "united oil policy" with the Iraqi Minister of Economy.
- June 28:* The police raided the two main centers of the Arab Renaissance Socialist Party and arrested about 100 of its members, including the party's secretary.
- July 4:* The government announced that it had agreed to enter into negotiations with Indonesia for a treaty of friendship similar to that now existing between Iraq and Pakistan.
- July 18:* President Soekarno of Indonesia paid a one-day visit to Baghdad.
- Aug. 3:* Prime Minister Nuri al-Sa'id returned to Baghdad from Turkey, where he had been since June.

- Aug. 10:* The Ministers of Interior and Economy left for Ankara for discussions on combatting subversive movements, and the extension of trade.
- Aug. 20:* Religious leaders throughout the country asked that all relations with France be broken as a protest against the French administration of its North African colonies.

Israel

(See also Palestine Problem)

1955

- June 28:* A motion of no-confidence was brought in the Knesset against the government of Prime Minister Sharett. The question involved was the government's appeal of a lower court's decision against Israel Kastner, accused of aiding the Nazi pogrom in Budapest during World War II (his trial had heavy political implications because of his wartime connection with Sharett). The General Zionists, part of Sharett's coalition, had refused to join in the government's appeal of the case.
- June 29:* Because of the differences with the General Zionists on the Kastner case and that party's abstention in the vote of confidence, Prime Minister Sharett forced the resignation of his Cabinet and immediately re-formed it without General Zionist representation. The four ministries held by this party were distributed as follows:
- Dr. Dov Joseph (Mapai) — Minister of Health
Zalman Aranne (Mapai) — Minister of Communications
Moshe Shapira (Hapoel Hamizrachi) — Minister of the Interior
Peretz Naphtali (Mapai) — Minister of Commerce and Industry
- The other ministries remained unchanged. The Knesset approved the new government by a vote of 66 to 32.
- June 30:* The Knesset adjourned until after the elections of July 26.
- July 10:* The first step in a program to bring water to the Negev was opened with the inauguration of a giant pipeline from the Yarkon River to a point 65 miles south in the desert.
- July 23:* A bomb exploded in the home of the General Zionist leader, Israel Rokach, recently relieved of his position as Minister of Interior in the Sharett government.
- July 26:* Elections were held for the new Knesset. About 850,000 went to the polls.
- July 28:* An Israeli passenger plane was shot down over Bulgaria, with the death of all 58 aboard. Israel, Britain, and the United States sent official protests to Bulgaria.
- July 29:* Bulgaria expressed "profound regret" at the shooting down of the Israeli plane.
- July 31:* The leaders of the executive committee of the General Zionist party were forced out because of election losses.

Aug. 3: Bulgaria admitted that two fighter planes had shot down the Israeli airliner on July 28.

The official distribution of seats in the new Knesset was announced as follows:

	1955	1951
Mapai	40	45
Herut	15	8
General Zionists	13	20
Hapoel Hamizrachi }	11	8
Mizrachi }		2
Ahdut Avoda	10	15
Mapam	9	
Agudat Israel }	6	3
Poalei Agudat Israel }		2
Communists	6	5
Progressives	5	4
Arab parties	5	5
Seaphardim, Yemenites ..	—	3

Aug. 15: The Cabinet of Prime Minister Sharett submitted its resignation to the President a few hours before the opening of the Third Knesset. Defense Minister Ben Gurion was invited to form a new government.

Aug. 17: Menahem Beigin, leader of the Herut party, refused to pay the traditional courtesy call on the President because Herut had been placed last in the list of those to visit him. He claimed that Mapai was discriminating against the newly enlarged Herut membership in the Knesset.

The Knesset voted to adjourn for two months while Defense Minister Ben Gurion continued his efforts to form a new government. The Sharett government would continue in its caretaker capacity.

Jordan

(See also Egypt, Palestine Problem)

1955

June 1: A new Jordanian Cabinet was completed on May 30, as follows:

Sa'id al-Mufti — Prime Minister, Foreign Affairs
 'Ali Husna — Justice
 Na'im 'Abd al-Hadi — Public Works
 Azmi al-Nashashibi — Publications, Telegraph and Post
 Saman Da'ud — Commerce, Reconstruction and Development
 Sa'id 'Ala' al-Din — Education
 'Ali Handawi — Agriculture
 Haza'a al-Handawi — Interior
 Farhan al-Shadillat — Defense
 Hamad al-Farhan — Economy
 Bishara Shussayb — Finance
 Dr. Jamal al-Tutunji — Health and Social Affairs

June 4: King Husayn and his bride, Queen Dina, left for state visits in Spain and Britain.

June 28: A joint Syrian, Saudi Arabian, and Jordanian committee on proposed repairs to the

Hijaz Railway completed its meetings in Amman. The committee agreed to set up an office in Damascus.

July 1: The King and Queen returned to Amman.

July 3: Britain invited Jordanian financial representatives to visit London for discussions on the Arab Legion budget and the question of Britain's contribution to a proposed oil refinery.

Aug. 13: It was announced that King Husayn would visit King Sa'ud during September.

Kashmir

1955

Aug. 4: The Indian courts released nine of the ten colleagues of former Prime Minister Shaykh Muhammad 'Abdullah. The tenth member of the group had escaped and gone underground.

Aug. 10: Thirteen associates of Shaykh Muhammad 'Abdullah formed the Kashmir Plebiscite Front Organization to organize public support behind their demand for an immediate plebiscite and self-determination for Kashmir.

Aug. 17: 'Abdul Ghani Goni, member of Kashmir's Constituent Assembly and a leader in the newly formed plebiscite front, was arrested for "attempting to create dissatisfaction."

Lebanon

See also General, Algeria, Arab League, Palestine Problem, Syria)

1955

June 22: President Bayar of Turkey left for Ankara after a 6-day visit and the signing of a trade agreement with Lebanon.

July 9: Prime Minister Sami al-Sulh announced the reformation of his Cabinet following a dispute with Foreign Minister Alfred Naccache. The new Cabinet was as follows:

Sami al-Sulh — Prime Minister, Planning
 Hamid Franjiyah — Foreign Affairs
 Gabriel al-Murr — Deputy Prime Minister, Justice, Health
 Majid Arslan — Defense
 Rashid Karameh — Economy
 Salim Haydar — Agriculture, Telegraphs and Posts
 Pierre Edde — Finance
 Muhi al-Din al-Nasuli — Interior, Information
 Na'im Mughabghab — Works
 Salim Lahud — Education

July 18: Lebanon and the United States signed an "atoms for peace" agreement.

Aug. 6: It was announced that Tripoli would be the terminus for a new Iraq Petroleum Company pipeline to supply the oil refinery there with an additional 9 million tons annually.

Aug. 26: The International Bank approved a \$27-million loan to finance the construction of a power and irrigation project on the Litani River.

To be completed in 1961, the project will more than double the present electric generating capacity of the country and irrigate 8,500 acres along the coast.

Libya

1955

June 5: King Idris took a second wife in ceremonies in Cairo.

July 9: An international court awarded Libya 8 of the 25 pieces of property which had been in dispute with Italy since the declaration of Libyan independence.

A new oil law was promulgated stating that all oil concessions must be on a 50-50 profit-sharing basis, and that within ten years of signing a concession 75% of the staff of such companies must be Libyan nationals.

July 30: Crown Prince Amir Muhammad Rida al-Mahdi al-Sanusi died at the age of 65.

Aug. 10: Prime Minister Mustafa bin Halim signed with the French Ambassador a pact by which the small French garrison would evacuate the province of Fezzan by November 30, 1956. Four protocols attached to the treaty arranged for the evacuation, made arrangements for the movements of nomads across the desert, established cultural missions from each of the two countries, and regulated the transfer of money from the sterling area to the franc area and vice-versa.

Morocco

(See also Algeria, Egypt, Iraq)

1955

July 2: As scattered Arab terror and French counter-actions continued, Marshal Juin, former Resident General of Morocco, sharply criticized French residents of Morocco who ignored the government's policy of conciliation.

July 14: A bomb exploded near an outdoor restaurant in Casablanca, killing 6 Frenchmen.

July 15: French and Arab mobs grew in strength throughout the day. A curfew was established throughout Casablanca.

July 16: Riots continued, with deaths totaling 27. There was much local French opposition to the moderate policies of the new Resident General, Gilbert Grandval.

July 17: Militant mobs continued to gather in the Arab section of Casablanca. Deaths totaled about 60.

July 18: Several French police officials were dismissed by the Resident General for not taking action against French counter-terrorist groups.

July 20: Fifteen Asian and African nations requested that the North African situation be included on the agenda of the General Assembly session in September. They also asked that Secretary-General Hammarskjold use his personal position to help solve French-Arab differences.

July 21: Resident-General Grandval traveled to Marrakesh to talk with Thami al-Glaoui about replacing the present Sultan. His arrival was met with new nationalist demonstrations.

July 25: Grandval's arrival in Meknes was the occasion for riots there.

July 29: Fourteen Asian and African nations requested that the UN Security Council act in connection with the situation in French North Africa.

Aug. 1: Arabs living in Paris rioted in sympathy with the Arabs of Morocco.

Aug. 4: Thami al-Glaoui, Berber leader, refused to accept a French plan whereby Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa would abdicate and be replaced, at least temporarily, by a regency council.

Aug. 10: Resident-General Grandval arrived in Paris for talks on French policy toward the Moroccan nationalists.

Aug. 12: A split in the French Cabinet between conservative and more liberal groups was avoided by a compromise policy (the "Grandval plan") which was arranged in discussions with the Resident General. M. Grandval was to request that the Sultan form a new government representing all shades of Moroccan opinion; if he failed in this task, a regency council would be formed. As soon as the council was formed, negotiations with France would begin for major reforms in Morocco.

Aug. 14: The outlawed Istiqlal (Independence) party said that it would probably not participate in any coalition government which the French attempted to form.

Aug. 17: In a letter to President Coty of France, Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa accepted the French proposal that he form a new government but turned down two key aspects of this plan: that the government be formed within a few days and that all segments of Moroccan politics be represented. The Sultan was understood to have said that he would not include anyone in the government who was hostile to himself, i.e., any of the nationalist groups.

Aug. 18: Despite objections of the right-wing members of his Cabinet, Premier Faure said that he could not agree to the formation of a Moroccan government composed only of friends of the Sultan; however, the Premier did grant a few more days for the Sultan to consider the French proposal. Premier Faure reiterated that he expected the crisis to be solved by September 12, when talks would begin on far-reaching reforms.

Aug. 19: Thirteen persons were killed during riots in Khenifra.

Aug. 20: Arabs and Berber tribesmen attacked French troops and civilians in a number of towns as growing demonstrations in the cities marked the second anniversary of the deposition of former Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef.

Aug. 21: Nationalist attacks continued, but were concentrated in the villages of Oued Zem and

Khenifra rather than in the cities as had been expected.

Aug. 22: Gen. Raymond Duval, commander of French troops in Morocco, was killed in a plane crash.

Deaths on both sides from rioting totaled about 200 for the previous three days.

French Premier Faure and a committee of cabinet ministers opened at Aix-les-Bains a conference which would eventually include conversations with all segments of the Moroccan population. These talks, the second major step in the Grandval plan, were begun because of the Sultan's delay in forming a coalition government. It was hoped that they would assist in the formation of a government and serve as a preliminary sounding board for the development of reform plans. In this first day of the conference, the French talked with Thami al-Glaoui, Grand Vizier al-Mukri, and other conservative Moroccan leaders.

Aug. 23: French troops were active in rounding up arms from surrendering Berber tribesmen in central Morocco.

The French delegation at Aix-les-Bains talked with representatives of the Moroccan Democratic Party of Independence; the conservative parties represented in the Faure government criticized any such contacts with the nationalists and stated their opposition to the Grandval plan.

Aug. 24: Talks continued at Aix-les-Bains, this time with an assortment of city and tribal leaders.

Resident General Grandval was booed by some 2,000 Frenchmen at the funeral of General Duval.

Aug. 25: The French delegation at Aix-les-Bains talked with leaders of the outlawed Istiqlal party. Unconfirmed reports indicated that Resident-General Grandval would soon resign, although the essence of his plan would be followed in working out future arrangements for Morocco.

Aug. 26: Indications from Aix-les-Bains showed that a general agreement was nearing, although a number of points remained unresolved. Uppermost among these was whether Resident-General Grandval or Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa should leave his position first, the prestige of each and his followers being involved in the decision.

General surrender and peace proceedings continued between French troops and Moroccan tribes.

Aug. 27: The Sultan continued to be reluctant to abdicate, while the Istiqlal party said that it would not join any government until he was out of office.

Aug. 29: The full French Cabinet debated the plans developed at Aix-les-Bains. General agreement was understood to have been reached on all key points. M. Grandval would be replaced as Resident General by Lieut. Gen. Pierre Georges Boyer de Latour, present Resident General in Tunisia; Sultan Sidi Mohammed ben Moulay Arafa would be allowed to leave under honor-

able circumstances, and a regency council formed; the former Sultan, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef would be moved from his place of exile on the island of Madagascar to France during October; and preparations would be completed for the formation of a national Moroccan government.

Aug. 30: The first contingents of an additional regiment of French troops arrived at Casablanca.

Aug. 31: General Boyer de Latour arrived in Rabat to assume his position as the new Resident General. He would also succeed the late General Duval as commander of all French troops in Morocco.

Pakistan

(See also Afghanistan, India, Kashmir)

1955

June 1: Prime Minister Mohammed 'Ali, yielding to public pressure, announced the formation of a commission to study Pakistan's marriage and family laws.

June 3: The central government ended its one-year military rule of East Pakistan. Parliamentary government would be restored in the area under the United Front Party, the party that had controlled East Pakistan when Karachi assumed full powers. However, the leader of that party, Fazlul Huq, would not be allowed to return to the position of Prime Minister, but would be permitted to nominate his successor from within his party.

June 6: Arrangements were completed for the new government in East Pakistan. Abu Husayn Sarkar of the United Front Party, the present Health Minister in the central government in Karachi, would be the Prime Minister.

June 21: The provincial legislatures voted on members to the new National Assembly.

June 23: Final results were tabulated in the elections for the 80-man National Assembly as follows:

Muslim League (from West Pakistan).....	25
United Front Party (from East Pakistan) ..	16
Awami League (from East Pakistan).....	13
Minorities	11
Independents	7

The eight remaining seats from the tribal areas and frontier states would be elected by the Assembly when it met in July. Pakistan's first coalition government would become necessary as a result of the failure of the Muslim League to win a majority.

June 29: The Egyptian mediator, Minister of State Anwar Sadaat, who, together with Prince Musayd ibn al-Rahman of Saudi Arabia, had been attempting to settle the border disputes between Pakistan and Afghanistan, announced the failure of the talks which had been in progress for about a month. They placed responsibility for this collapse on Afghanistan.

June 30: Pakistan agreed to join the military pact formed in February 1955 between Turkey, Iraq, and Britain.

July 7: The new National Assembly opened its session.

July 18: The chief minister of the Northwest Frontier Province was removed by the central government because of his opposition to the new unified government for West Pakistan.

July 30: India and Pakistan agreed to let passenger trains cross their borders, thus making it possible for the two parts of Pakistan to be connected by rail.

July 31: The government announced a devaluation of the rupee to improve its export position in the world market. The new rate was Rs. 4/8 to the dollar as opposed to the previous rate of Rs. 3/3.

Aug. 5: The International Bank announced that it would lend \$14,800,000 to Pakistan for port improvements at Karachi.

Aug. 7: Major General Iskander Mirza, Minister of Interior, was sworn in as acting Governor General, replacing Ghulam Mohammed, who had been ordered by his doctors to take a complete rest for two months.

Prime Minister Mohammed 'Ali resigned after he had lost his position as leader of the Muslim League to Chaudry Mohammed 'Ali. The acting Governor General asked Mohammed 'Ali to remain in office until a new government could be formed.

Aug. 8: Husayn Shaheed Suhrawardy, leader of the Awami League and Law Minister in the outgoing government, announced that he would form a government in coalition with the Muslim League.

Aug. 9: The Suhrawardy government failed to materialize because of a last minute announcement that the United Front Party would be willing to join with the Muslim League in a new cabinet and because of continued opposition to Mr. Suhrawardy from certain elements within the Muslim League.

Aug. 10: Chaudry Mohammed 'Ali, the new leader of the Muslim League and Finance Minister in the previous two governments, was asked to form a cabinet. His hope for a three-party coalition became impossible when Mr. Suhrawardy announced that the Awami League would not join the government.

Aug. 12: The temporary allocation of portfolios in the new cabinet was announced, as follows:

Chaudry Mohammed 'Ali (Muslim League) — Prime Minister, Defense, Foreign Affairs, Finance and Economic Affairs, Commonwealth Relations.

Fazlul Huq (United Front) — Interior

Kahn Sahib (Muslim League) — Communications, States and Frontier Regions

Habib Ibrahim Rahimtoola (Muslim League) — Commerce and Industry

Avid Husayn (Muslim League) — Kashmir Affairs, Education

Kamini Kumar Dutta (United Front) — Law, Health

Pir 'Ali Mohammed Rashdi (Muslim League) — Information and Broadcasting
Mohammed Nurul Huq Chaudry (United Front) — Labor, Works, Minority Affairs
Abdul Latif Biswas (United Front) — Food and Agriculture

Sarbar Amir Khan (Muslim League) — Minister of State, Refugees and Rehabilitation

Lutfur Rehman Khan (United Front) — Minister of State, Finance

'Abdul Wahab Khan of the United Front Party was elected speaker of the National Assembly. Prime Minister Chaudry Mohammed 'Ali thanked the Awami League for withdrawing its candidate to ensure unanimity in the election.

Aug. 19: Former Prime Minister Mohammed 'Ali was named to his previous position of Ambassador to the United States and chief of the Pakistani delegation to the United Nations.

Aug. 27: Pakistan and India ratified a one-year agreement that all but eliminated customs and exchange restrictions on many basic commodities. Of particular importance was the inclusion of jute and coal on the list, as trade in these two key commodities had almost ceased after Partition in 1947.

Husayn Shaheed Suhrawardy said that his party, the Awami League, definitely would not participate in the new cabinet because he could not join a government that was not treating East Pakistan with full equality.

Prime Minister Chaudry Mohammed 'Ali told a delegation representing some 5,000 demonstrating citizens that France must take early steps to allow Morocco and Algeria to achieve their national aspiration.

Palestine Problem

(See also Jordan)

1955

June 2: General E. L. M. Burns, Palestine Truce Supervisor, ended two days of talks with Prime Minister Nasir regarding the continuing clashes in the Gaza area. Prime Minister Nasir rejected General Burns' bid for top-level talks with Israel.

June 5: Prime Minister U Nu of Burma, completing a 9-day visit to Israel, said that he would be happy to mediate the Arab-Israeli differences if invited by both sides.

Prime Minister Nasir suggested the formation of a wide demilitarized zone around the Gaza strip.

June 7: Henry Cabot Lodge, United States delegate to the UN, warned both Egypt and Israel that unless their attacks in the Gaza vicinity ended, the UN Security Council would have to reconsider the situation there.

In talks with General Burns, Israeli Prime

- Minister Sharett rejected the Egyptian proposal for a demilitarized zone around the Gaza Strip.
- June 9:* Egypt was reported as willing to send a high-level army officer for talks with a similar representative from Israel provided that a representative of the UN be included in the talks.
- June 12:* Israel insisted that the proposed talks with Egypt be undertaken by high diplomatic officials, while Egypt said that they should be limited to military matters and carried on by the local military commanders.
- June 17:* Countering Egypt's proposal for a demilitarized zone, Israel suggested that a mined security zone be established along the Gaza strip with joint patrols to watch the 100-meter-wide area.
- June 22:* An exchange of shots continued for nearly two hours between Israeli and Jordanian troops. It marked the fifth consecutive day of clashes on this front after several months of relative quiet.
- June 23:* Egypt declared that Israel's proposal for a mined security zone was "propaganda" as the suggestions were practically identical to proposals made by General Burns in November which Egypt had accepted and Israel turned down.
- June 25:* Israel and Egypt agreed to meet under UN supervision to discuss means of quieting the Gaza strife, including General Burns' original proposals of joint patrols, barbed wire fences on the border, the use of regular troops only, and contact and cooperation among the commanders to maintain peace.
- June 27:* Lebanon seized an Israeli ship, the *Bracha Fold*, which had been forced within Lebanese territorial waters by high seas.
- June 28:* General Burns chaired the first meeting of the Egyptian-Israeli talks on Gaza.
- June 29:* The meeting on the Gaza conflict continued for six hours, then adjourned until July 6. There was agreement to place General Burns' proposals on the agenda, as well as the Egyptian proposals for a wide demilitarized zone. Egypt objected to including Israel's suggestion that Egypt cancel its "order" to fire on all Israeli patrols.
- July 6:* The Gaza talks reopened and agreement was soon reached on an agenda which included General Burns' suggestions and the right of both Israel and Egypt to make additional proposals. Talks continued on the first two of General Burns' points: joint patrols and cooperation among field commanders.
- July 7:* Another day of Gaza conferences was marked by some progress. Disagreements were chiefly on the degree of detailed cooperation between front line commanders of both sides.
- July 21:* Jordan and Israel exchanged drafts of an agreement to extend their commanders' agreement at Jerusalem to the entire border area north and south of the city.
- July 22:* General Burns received a second one-year appointment as Truce Supervisor.
- Aug. 4:* Israel and Jordan agreed to extend their new truce arrangements throughout the length of their common border. Direct telephone communication between local commanders would be used to reduce the threat at points of contact.
- Egyptian and Israeli negotiations on the Gaza dispute were stalemated on the degree to which UN officers would be used in the proposed contacts between field commanders on either side. Israel favored direct contact between the two sides, while Egypt insisted on using representatives of the United Nations as intermediaries.
- Aug. 15:* Israel announced that an Egyptian patrol had penetrated 8 miles into the Negev.
- Aug. 22:* Israeli troops attacked and took an Egyptian outpost, but soon retired to Israeli territory.
- Aug. 24:* Egypt formally broke off the Gaza talks because "Israel aims at removing international supervision and conducting direct talks between Egypt and Israel."
- Aug. 25:* Special U.S. Ambassador Eric Johnston opened talks with the Jordanian government on the question of developing the waters of the Jordan River.
- Aug. 26:* In a New York speech, U.S. Secretary of State Dulles proposed a new plan for settling the long-standing Arab-Israeli conflict: (1) The fixing of borders between the Arab nations and Israel; if requested, the United States would assist in this process. (2) An international guarantee of the new borders, a guarantee in which the United States would participate. (3) An international loan to Israel to help that country pay compensation to the displaced Arab refugees; the United States would make a substantial contribution to this loan.
- Egyptian patrols ambushed and killed several Israelis during the night.
- Aug. 27:* The British government stated that it would join in any international guarantee that might be developed for the Arab-Israeli borders. In the Middle East, all of the countries involved announced that they were studying the Dulles proposals.
- Aug. 28:* The day was marked by a heavy exchange of mortar fire in the Gaza area, as well as scattered patrol activity by both sides.
- Prime Minister-designate David Ben-Gurion of Israel said that he was opposed to any revision of Israel's borders as fixed by the armistice of 1949.
- Aug. 29:* Egyptian and Israeli jet fighters met over the Gaza border, each side claiming that the other had violated its territory. On the ground, sporadic fire across the border continued.
- Aug. 30:* U.S. Secretary of State Dulles reported that he had received indications that the Soviet Union had offered arms to Egypt. He also stated that both the U.S. and Britain had urged Israel and Egypt to refrain from attacks in the Gaza area.
- As raids and counter-raids continued at Gaza, the Egyptian government announced acceptance

of a cease-fire proposal put forth by General Burns, UN Truce Supervisor.

Aug. 31: Ambassador Eric Johnston arrived in Cairo after five days in Amman. The Egyptian government announced that after Mr. Johnston's departure representatives of the Arab states would meet in Cairo to discuss his proposals.

An Israeli armored group struck at an Egyptian army Gaza base, which, according to Israel, had served as a base for terrorist squads active in Israel during recent days. The Israeli government also announced that it would not join in the UN cease-fire agreement until Egypt had acknowledged full responsibility for the recent violence in the Gaza area.

Saudi Arabia

(See also Arab League, Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Pakistan, Syria)

1955

June 7: King Sa'ud assured Egypt of full military and financial support in the event of an Israeli attack on the Gaza Strip.

June 18: The first wireless telephone service between Saudi Arabia and Egypt and Saudi Arabia and Syria was opened.

June 21: King Sa'ud decided to contribute LS2 million toward financing a technical study, needed before repair work on the Hijaz Railway could begin.

July 21: King Sa'ud arrived in Mecca to perform the pilgrimage.

Aug. 14: It was learned that 'Abdullah Abu al-Khayr would be appointed Minister of Information and National Guidance, a newly created portfolio.

Sudan

(See also Egypt)

1955

June 8: Egyptian and British representatives met in Cairo to discuss the formation of an international commission to oversee the process of self-determination in the Sudan, as required under the terms of the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1953.

June 19: Prime Minister Isma'il al-Azhari dismissed two members of his Cabinet: Muhammad Nur al-Din, Minister of Public Works and Vice-President of the National Union Party, and Bullen Alier, Minister of Animal Resources. Mubaraq Zaruk, Minister of Communications, was given the portfolio for Public Works, while Dr. Muhammad Amin al-Sayyid, Minister of Health, would take over the duties of the Minister of Animal Resources. The Prime Minister said that the dismissals were caused by "several acts" of these two men during his absence. They represented the wing of the National Union party which still favored a close union with Egypt.

June 20: A second meeting was held in Cairo to discuss the international commission on Sudanese self-determination.

June 28: A conference to discuss the future relations between northern and southern provinces opened at Juba, but was immediately adjourned because a number of delegates had not yet arrived.

June 30: The first census of the Sudan began.

A third Anglo-Egyptian meeting was held in Cairo to prepare for the international commission on Sudanese self-determination.

July 3: Muhammad Nur al-Din, recently dismissed Minister of Public Works, attacked Prime Minister al-Azhari for his "dictatorial methods" and for deviating from the National Union Party's mandate for union with Egypt.

July 22: Prime Minister al-Azhari and seven cabinet ministers arrived in Cairo to attend the celebration of the 3rd anniversary of the Egyptian revolution.

July 28: A thousand workmen in Nzara, southern Sudan, rioted until brought under control by police fire. The rioting followed the conviction of an official who was known to favor unity with Egypt.

Aug. 2: Eight southern Sudanese tribal leaders announced from their Cairo headquarters that they would work for an independent status for the southern region, with only a general federation link with the north. They also attacked Prime Minister al-Azhari for the "oppressive measures" he had used in the south. The leaders appealed to Egypt for help in achieving their aims.

Prime Minister al-Azhari completed several meetings with leaders of the opposition Ummah Party regarding the work of the forthcoming parliamentary session.

Aug. 7: The Prime Minister, acting as leader of the National Union party, dismissed Muhammad Nur al-Din as vice-president of the party and Sayyid al-Tayib Muhammad Khayr as Assistant Secretary-General. Nur al-Din said that the action was illegal and he would not recognize it.

Details of the report of the Sudanization committee were made public. Of the 1,222 posts studied, 734 had been Sudanized by July 31. Of the remaining 488 posts, 281 were abolished and the remainder, occupied by both British and Egyptian officials, were not considered of the type that could sway the Sudanese vote in the forthcoming election.

Aug. 8: Ibrahim Hasan al-Muhallawi, Minister of Mineral Resources, and Aqil Ahmad Aqil, Undersecretary for Foreign affairs, resigned from the government, charging the Prime Minister with "dictatorial methods."

Aug. 9: Disagreement continued in the Egyptian-British discussions on an international commission to oversee the self-determination process. Egypt insisted that Britain, Egypt, and the Sudan should be represented on the commission, though

with a majority of neutral members, while the British representatives thought that only neutral members should be selected.

Aug. 13: A rump session of the National Union Party meeting at the home of Muhammad Nur al-Din expelled Prime Minister al-Azhari and some of his colleagues from the party. The Prime Minister said that the action was not legal and would be ignored.

Sayyid 'Ali al-Mirghani, leader of the Khatmia sect, suggested that a plebiscite be held to decide the Sudan's future. Nur al-Din agreed with this suggestion, though doubting if all Sudanese were capable of comprehending the issue at stake. Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman al-Mahdi, leader of the Ansar sect, said that he too approved the idea of a plebiscite, but that it was not necessary since the Sudanese were unanimous in favoring complete independence.

Aug. 14: Considering the continued failure to agree on the composition of the international commission, Egypt sent a note to Britain suggesting that the entire question be referred to the Sudanese parliament.

Aug. 16: In a return note, Britain accepted the Egyptian proposal of Aug. 14.

As its special session opened, the Sudanese parliament unanimously approved a resolution calling for the evacuation of British and Egyptian troops within 90 days. The next step, according to the British-Egyptian Agreement of 1953, would be the election of a constituent assembly, which would decide the country's future. Prime Minister al-Azhari said that he hoped elections could be called by early December.

Aug. 17: A mutiny broke out in two companies of the Equatoria Corps at Torit in the southern Sudan. Reports stated that the revolt was partly a protest against the use of northern Sudanese officers who were replacing the British under the process of Sudanization of all officers' positions, partly the result of orders transferring the troops to the north, and partly the result of widespread propaganda from Egypt. A state of emergency was declared throughout the area.

Aug. 21: Major Salah Salim, Minister of Sudanese Affairs in the Egyptian government, suggested that both Britain and Egypt send troops into the southern Sudan to aid in quieting rebellious conditions there. In the meantime, government troops advanced into the south and retook one village from the mutineers.

Aug. 22: The Sudanese parliament recommended that the international commission to oversee the process of self-determination be made up of representatives from Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Sweden, Norway, India, Pakistan, and Switzerland.

Aug. 23: The mutinous troops at Torit agreed to surrender if British or Egyptian troops replaced the Sudanese forces in the nearby city of Juba. Prime Minister al-Azhari said that he would accept only unconditional surrender.

Governor General Sir Alexander Knox Helm flew back to Khartoum from his vacation in Scotland.

Aug. 27: The southern rebels agreed to a complete surrender, with Governor General Helm promising to investigate their grievances.

Aug. 29: Parliament approved a resolution asking Egypt and Britain to allow the Sudan to organize a direct national plebiscite which would provide the means for Sudanese self-determination.

Syria

(See also Jordan, Saudi Arabia)

1955

June 1: It was announced that additional members of the Syrian National Socialist Party had been arrested in connection with the assassination of Colonel Adnan al-Malki on April 22.

June 18: A new opposition bloc in the Chamber of Deputies was created. Known as the Constitutional Front, it was composed of the Islamic and tribal groups in the Chamber.

June 25: A conference of ranking government officials was held to discuss the economic crisis which had resulted from heavy drought damage to crops.

June 30: The trial opened of 30 leaders of the Syrian National Socialist Party who were charged in the death of Colonel al-Malki. The government claimed that the accused leaders had been negotiating with the United States in order to take over the Syrian government and then join the Turkish-Iraqi military alliance.

July 25: The Syrian army along the northern border announced the shooting of a Turkish soldier during a brief clash between Turkish and Syrian patrols.

Aug. 4: An Egyptian mission arrived to discuss economic aid for Syria.

Aug. 13: The Chamber of Deputies approved a budget for the coming year of LS260,500,000, including 40% for defense and internal security.

Aug. 15: Former President Adib al-Shishakli and Captain 'Abd al-Haq Shihada, his chief of military police, were sentenced in absentia by a military court to 20 years' imprisonment at hard labor and deprived of their civil rights.

Aug. 18: Former President Shukri al-Quwatli, National Party leader, was elected Syria's ninth president by the Chamber of Deputies. He defeated Foreign Minister Khalid al-'Azam by a vote of 91 to 41. Al-'Azam resigned as Foreign Minister and Acting Defense Minister and announced that he would become leader of the opposition.

Tunisia

1955

June 1: Thousands of Tunisians welcomed the nationalist leader Habib Bourguiba, returning from two years of exile in France.

June 3: After nine months of negotiation, the final version of the French-Tunisian agreement was signed in Paris.

July 9: The agreement on Tunisian self-rule was approved by the French Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 540-43.

Aug. 25: Salah ben Youssef, secretary of the Neo-Destour Party, said in Cairo that he opposed the agreement for Tunisian autonomy signed by other members of his party with France.

Aug. 27: Sidi Mohammed al-Amin, the Bey of Tunisia, ratified and sealed the conventions granting internal autonomy to the country.

Turkey

(See also Cyprus, Iran, Lebanon, Pakistan, Syria)

1955

June 17: Erzerum was announced as the site of the new Atatürk University for eastern Turkey. It was to be established on American university lines with the aid of a group from the University of Nebraska.

June 21: The U.S. turned down a Turkish request for a \$300-million loan saying that until Turkey improved its own financial stability, ended its agricultural subsidies, and curbed inflation there was no basis on which to consider it. Washington, however, did add \$30 million to the \$70 million previously allocated to Turkey this year and announced that the sum would be used to carry Turkey through its current economic crisis until further conversations could be completed between Washington and Ankara.

July 27: Two cabinet changes became effective: Fuad Köprülü, Minister of State and Former Minister of Foreign Affairs, added the position of Deputy Prime Minister to his other duties, and Fatin Rüştü Zorlu became Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs as well as Minister of State.

Aug. 5: The Republican People's Party announced that it would not participate in the provincial elections in September or in the city elections in November. The party leadership stated that the

present government was preventing "safe and free elections." The National Republican party had previously withdrawn from both of these elections.

Aug. 14: Kasim Gülek, Secretary General of the Republican People's Party, was arrested by the Ministry of Justice after he stated that he knew "how the 1954 elections were conducted and how they [the Democrat Party] won those elections."

Yemen

(See also Aden and Aden Protectorate, Arab League)

1955

June 18: Imam Ahmad dismissed Sayf al-Islam al-Hasan as Prime Minister and assumed the full powers of that position himself.

August 31: Imam Ahmad formed a Cabinet with himself as Prime Minister, as well as a 6-man advisory council of religious leaders, elders, and chieftains. The Cabinet was as follows:

Imam Ahmad — Prime Minister

Crown Prince Amir Sayf al-Islam Muhammad al-Badr — Deputy Prime Minister, Foreign Affairs, Defense

Ahmad Muhammad Siyaghi — Interior

'Abd al-Rahman Siyaghi — Finance

Qadi Ahmad Jurafi — Justice

Amir Sayf al-Islam 'Ali — Education

Amir Sayf al-Islam al-Qasim — Communications

Muhammad 'Abdullah al-Amri — Minister of State

Muhammad Husayn al-Amri — Trade

Yahya al-Amri — Agriculture

Muhammad Shami — Minister of State

Muhammad al-Aryani — Minister of State

'Abd al-Rahman Abu Talib — Minister of State

Muhammad 'Ali Osman — Public Works

'Abdullah Abulillah — Minister of State (Foreign Affairs)

Waysi Sayyid Husayn — Minister of State (Social Affairs)

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL

LAW IN THE MIDDLE EAST. VOL. I. ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF ISLAMIC LAW. Edited by Majid Khadduri and Herbert J. Liebesny. Foreword by Justice Robert H. Jackson. Washington: The Middle East Institute, 1955. xviii + 372 pages; glossary, biblio., index to 395. \$7.50.

Reviewed by J. N. D. Anderson

The sponsors and editors of this venture deserve both congratulations and gratitude for the imagination evinced in its conception and the considerable degree of success achieved in its execution.

The book begins with a Foreword in which Justice Robert H. Jackson emphasizes both the increasingly honored place accorded to the comparative study of law in the United States and the virtual restriction of this study in practice to the civil law and common law systems. Islamic law, on the other hand, "has been regarded as of speculative rather than practical interest and received attention from a relatively few specialists and scholars." This is partly because Islamic law "principally offers the American lawyer a study in dramatic contrasts"; but still more, perhaps, because the "barrier of language" here presents more than the usual difficulty.

The Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Middle East Institute next contributes a short account of the "Background and Development of the Project," in which he traces its "incubation" to a discussion on the ways and means of "bridging the wide gap between the attitudes of the people in the Muslim world and those in the Christian" and to a feeling that "if the shari'a were made known to Westerners, they would be so much better able to interpret the actions of Muslims."

Fifteen chapters by fourteen scholars make up the substance of this volume — which is, we are told, to be followed, "circumstances permitting," by a further volume, on the modern legal systems of the Middle East countries. And, like all such ventures of composite au-

thorship, the different contributions differ somewhat widely in their quality and value.

In the first chapter Sir Hamilton Gibb discusses the "Constitutional Organization" — which is itself, in theory at least, the creation of the Shari'a, and against the background of which alone the Shari'a can be properly understood — with his usual competence, bridging the centuries and summarizing the major fluctuations in constitutional theory with skill and understanding. Two invaluable chapters by Professor J. Schacht follow, the first on the "Pre-Islamic Background and Early Development of Jurisprudence" and the second on "The Schools of Law and Later Developments of Jurisprudence." These provide a masterly summary of the way in which Islamic law in fact originated and of the whole course of its historical development — and thus make available for the first time in English what was previously accessible only in his *Esquisse d'une histoire du droit Musulman*. Another chapter of outstanding merit, although placed much later in the book, is that contributed by Professor Emile Tyan on "Judicial Organization." This provides an admirable outline of the relative positions of the *qādīs*, the caliphs or governors, the *muftīs*, the *shūra*, the *shuhūd*, the *maẓālim* jurisdiction, the *qāḍī al-ʿaskar*, the *hājib*, and the *shurṭa* — although one would have welcomed a more adequate reference to the *muḥtasib* (which is, however, covered by Professor Schacht on pp. 59, 60).

There is much else, too, which is eminently worthwhile. Thus Dr. H. J. Liebesny gives a concise and valuable summary of "The Development of Western Judicial Privileges" in which he puts the formerly vexed subject of the capitulations in its proper historical setting; while Dr. Subhi Mahmasani deals with "Transactions in the Shari'a" in a way which is both competent and characteristic (although one might here have wished for a fuller reference to the distinctly Islamic abhorrence of usury and of any element of gambling).

Space forbids individual reference to most of the other contributions. There are far too

many mistakes in the spelling of Arabic terms (and sometimes in basic punctuation and English syntax) in some of the chapters; there are quite a large number of palpable errors in fact sprinkled (in the main) throughout much the same chapters; and there are many passages, and two or three contributions as a whole, which fall distinctly below the general level. But the tragedy of the whole volume is provided by the chapter on "Family Law."

This is, in one sense, the most vital subject of all, if the Christian world is better to understand the "attitudes" of Muslims. But it is just here that the technique of the volume — faulty as it appears at times in certain other translated contributions — breaks down completely. Of the outstanding competence of Professor Muhammad Abu Zahra, when given his head in Arabic, there can be no doubt; but the present chapter, in its translated and — I suspect — drastically abbreviated form, abounds not only in inaccuracies in substance and infelicities in expression, but even in passages which can only be termed sheer nonsense. Thus the latter part of the list of the prohibited degrees of marriage, on page 135, is a hopeless jumble — in part inaccurate, in part meaningless, and in part grotesquely incomplete; the passage about the maximum period of a woman's 'idda, on page 151, is sheer jibberish; and the whole treatment of the inheritance rights of collaterals is thrown into utter confusion by the fact that consanguine sisters are usually (but not always) termed "sisters of the father" and uterine sisters "sisters of the mother" (cf. pp. 168ff). Again, the statement that "The amount of money allotted to the wife's support is determined by referral (sic) of the matter to the qāḍī each month, each week, or each year, according to the manner in which the husband gains his living" (p. 145) conjures up a positive nightmare of arrears of litigation. But the most intriguing in a long series of mistranslations is that at the foot of page 175, where we read, "Bequests can be made to any relatives whether or not they are relatives in the eyes of Islam, so long as a non-Muslim person making the bequest considers them to be such" — where, presumably, the word translated "relatives" really means "way of approach to God" (*qurba*)!

There is one other outstanding deficiency in

this volume: there is no comprehensive treatment of the very interesting recent developments in Shari'a law, in the form of partial codifications, which have appeared in country after country. True, there is a useful account of the progressive restriction of the scope of the Shari'a in the Ottoman Empire, including Egypt, in Professor Ebul'ulâ Mardin's contribution on "Development of the Shari'a in the Ottoman Empire"; there is a summary of the Majalla in Professor S. S. Onar's article on that subject; there is a valuable outline of recent developments in the law of *waqf* at the end of Mr. Henry Cattani's chapter thereon; and there are meagre references to some of the fascinating reforms and innovations in the field of family law and succession scattered throughout Professor Abu Zahra's contribution — although this vital chapter fails adequately to distinguish the traditional interpretations on the one hand from the contributions of recent legislation on the other. But the need remains for a comprehensive summary of these reforms — the most recent example of which is the Syrian Law of Personal Status, 1953; and while it is to be hoped that this deficiency will be remedied in the second volume, this is not the natural position for such a chapter.

The present volume ends with a glossary, a select bibliography, and an index. The print is good and the format attractive.

♦ J. N. D. ANDERSON is Professor of Oriental Laws at the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London. His most recent work is *Islamic Law in Africa* (1954).

MIDDLE EAST TENSIONS: POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS, by S. A. Morrison. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954. 198 pages. \$2.75.

Reviewed by Alford Carleton

The author of *Middle East Tensions* has spent thirty-five years in that part of the world, experienced the tensions and their effects at first hand, lived in the countries of which he writes, and had friends on all sides of every problem. The major difficulty of the book lies in the fields it tries to cover in too short compass. For example, ten to twenty pages are devoted to such chapter topics as "Conflicting

Nationalisms"; "Arab Disunity, Jewish Intransigence and the Palestine Refugees"; "The Nation State, Islam and the Minorities"; and "Israel's Aspirations and Apprehensions." A novice in the history and problems of the area might condense by over-simplification. But this is the close-packed experience of a long-time resident. The student of Arab affairs might well wish that the author had spent his whole book — and an even larger one — on those topics without once referring to the Arab-Israeli question. Similarly the student of Israel might wish for undivided attention to the problems of that state; the Christian leader in the area might wish for a whole book, rather than a few scattered paragraphs and a single chapter, on the subject of the Church and the mission of the Church in the land of its birth. Yet each must be grateful for the accuracy of statement, the shrewdness of insight, and the breadth of perspective revealed in every chapter.

The author seems to be conscious of this problem, but there is no way out; there are many things to be said and each calls for its corollary, or for a corrective statement on the other side of the issue. Personal reminiscence lies behind some statements, undoubtedly to give vividness to the writing, but there are also short patches of total recall where fewer facts would have made the case clearer. Sometimes an important generalization is buried in a mass of relatively unimportant details. Perhaps this very mass of only partially organized information gives the reader what may be one of the most important lessons the book can teach: that the problems of the Middle East are too complicated to be simply stated, that there are too many facts for one mind to assimilate them all, and that "impartiality" is to be attained only by discrediting many of the favored points of view of each and all of the parties to the dispute.

The book is not easy reading, nor will it lead the reader to an optimistic frame of mind. In that it is true to its subject. It is an excellent description of many of the tensions of the Near and Middle East. It is less competent as a diagnosis of their causes — and in that the author is not to be blamed, for who can do better? And it entirely avoids the hopeless task of trying to prescribe for their cure, ending

instead on a note of Christian optimism that is yet a question.

This study was first published in England under the title *Middle East Survey*. In the Preface the author explains that he prefers the older term "Near East," but that he bows to the usage of the British Foreign Office. It is a pity that in this American edition the usage of the State Department might not be followed and the term "Near East" reinstated in its rightful place.

There will be a great temptation to quote sentences out of context, both because of the range of material included and because of the careful exposition of both sides of a dilemma. Those who succeed in resisting this temptation will find *Middle East Tensions* to be a mine of information, a provocative source of new ideas, and an honest attempt on the part of a competent observer to put before the average reader a sense of the depth, range, and complexity of the problems that exist at the crossroads of the world.

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A HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES. Vol. III, THE KINGDOM OF ACRE AND THE LATER CRUSADES, by Steven Runciman. New York: Cambridge, 1954. xii + 530 pages, 16 pl., genealogical table, map, biblio., index. \$6.50.

Reviewed by Jean Richard

The third volume of Mr. Runciman's *History of the Crusades* deals with the latter period of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The subtitle, *The Kingdom of Acre*, should not mislead us: the book is concerned not only with the period during which Acre was the "capital" of the kingdom, after the loss of Jerusalem (1244) and the usurpation of the holy city Tyre in 1243 at the expense of the royal domain, but is continued through the Kingdom of the Baldwins from the Third Crusade to the fall of Acre and other places on the Syrian coast (1187-1291). It is the period which John L. La Monte has named the "Second Kingdom of Jerusalem."

This third volume is written with the same

style as the first two and one reads it with the same impassioned interest. The author is concerned above all with an unravelling of events, except for two chapters on the commerce of Outremer and on architecture and arts—intellectual life (which Mr. Runciman seems to underestimate) being relegated to an appendix. The historical exposé is excellent, as in his previous volumes. The author continues to go to the medieval sources, chiefly to the narrative ones, rather than to the works which have utilized them; however, this procedure ought not to deceive us on the scope of his reading in modern historical literature. It testifies rather to a solicitude for exactness almost to a point of scrupulousness.

Nevertheless, Mr. Runciman's exactitude must be taken by default on a few points of detail. To give a familiar turn to his writings in regard to proper names, he sometimes transforms them: the archbishop of Tyre, Joscius (Josse), becomes Josias, a Biblical name foreign to the Frankish vocabulary. The term "Languebars," by which the soldiers of Frederick II were designated, ought not to be translated "Lombards": the Middle Ages designated by the latter word the inhabitants of North Italy, while the Languebars came from the ancient area of Langobardia, i.e., Calabria. Finally, Montroque (p. 388) is in reality Montgoqu (Mons Cucul), near Tripoli.

There are also some factual errors. It was not the "Moslem merchants from Bethlehem" who fought the "Nestorian merchants from Mosul" in the streets of Acre (p. 345): this affray was between two brotherhoods, one of which was that of "St. George and Balian," a grouping of indigenous Christians. The king of Jerusalem drew large sums of money from their seaports, contrary to what Mr. Runciman has written (p. 361): Matthew Paris has given us the information gathered by Richard of Cornwall regarding the revenues of Acre. As to the death of Guy of Lusignan (p. 84), a document that the present writer has discovered permits us to date it after August 18, 1194, and to brush aside the version of the *Estoire d'Eracles* regarding the accession of his brother H. Aimery to the throne of Cyprus. One cannot follow the author when he attributes the usage of the broken arch in the West to an influence coming from the Cru-

sades (pp. 379-80). The coinage of Outremer appears to have allowed a great deal more of silver deniers of the Western type than of the gold coins with Arab legends (pp. 362-64). Finally, all recent researches have proved that the legates of the Pope rarely enjoyed the role of war chiefs (cf. p. 479): Adhemar of Monteil himself was only a spiritual chief.

Certain conclusions are subject to caution: in the army of Richard Coeur-de-Lion, "The English bore the disappointment sturdily, but the French with their mercurial temperament began to desert." These "English," that is the men of the King of England, were in large part Aquitains, Angevins, or Normans. Was their temperament less "mercurial" than that of the men of the Capetian king?

Without lingering over such details, there are some points at which we heartily disagree with Mr. Runciman's conclusions. We fear he has not given enough space to the question of Tyre in his exposition of the civil disputes which tore the kingdom apart after 1243. Philip of Montfort had received that city, captured by Frederick II, only as a trust. Also, he was opposed to the accession of Hugh III of Antioch-Lusignan, for he feared he would have to return the city to the king. It was for that reason that Hugh III signed a treaty with Philip in 1269, engaging himself to leave Tyre to Montfort: Mr. Runciman seems not to have understood the portent of that accord, which made Montfort a partisan of Hugh. Hence, Tyre never recognized the royalty of Charles of Anjou and remained faithful to Hugh III and his successors.

Mr. Runciman gives much space to the Mongols. Beginning in 1260, the Latin states of the East found themselves in the vast conflict between the Mongols of Persia and the Mameluks of Egypt. The author retraces as well all the history of the Mongol expansion. We believe that he is mistaken on the information which was available in the West on this subject. The identification of Prester John with Wang-Khan of the Keraït could only have been made after 1248, when the missionaries had collected precise ideas on the Mongol origins, and not from 1242. Permit me to refer the reader to my article in the *Journal Asiatique* (vol. 237 [1949], pp. 287-93) on the early relations between the Latins of the Orient and

the Il-khans of Persia: Mr. Runciman knew neither of the ambassador sent by the barons of Acre to Hulagu, nor of the ambassadors which the latter sent to Rome in 1263. And unfortunately he did not allude to the mission confided to the Polo brothers by the archdeacon (and not archbishop — cf. p. 338) of Liège, Tedaldo Visconti, the future Gregory X, then visiting at Acre.

In the impasse regarding the projects of alliance between the West and the Mongols, the Westerners were not the only ones responsible: if the King of France was occupied in Aragon and the King of England in Scotland, the Il-khan was warring in Afghanistan and in the Caucasus. The victorious campaign of 1299 led by Ghazzan, in which the Franks were associated (it was then that they occupied Rouad), ultimately failed for that reason. Mr. Runciman doubts the reality of the offer of Jerusalem to the Westerners by Ghazzan: there seems to be no reason to reject the testimony of Hayton, an Armenian prince, and numerous contemporaneous letters.

In a general fashion, the chapter on the Crusades after 1291 is not the best of the work. The author has pursued them up to 1453, neglecting in a way the fate of Rhodes, Cyprus, and Crete, which prolonged the history of the Crusades up to the 17th century. Mr. Runciman sees in the Fourth Crusade the fatal error of the Crusaders, a "deliberate malice" prepared for a long time. Apropos of the conquest of Cyprus he writes: "If Crusaders were ready and able to annex an Orthodox province, would they not be tempted soon to launch the long desired Holy War against Byzantium?" But the occupation of Cyprus was an unforeseen event, just as was the affair of 1204 for the great majority of the Crusaders.

The Crusade of 1204 seems to the author the point of departure of the catastrophes which fell on eastern Europe. He does not doubt that Byzantium could have assimilated the Seljuk Turks, just as the Arab world could have ended, but for the Crusades, by assimilating the Turkish force instead of being submerged by it. It is always easy to reconstruct history. In 1204, the Seljuks were not debilitated; the Byzantine emperors who had taken the Crusaders into their pay in order to fight against a competitor were able to appeal to the Turks

or the Bulgarians, and it was that which brought about the assault on Byzantium — the mercenaries being fed up with not being paid. It has even been suggested that in rejecting the Greek empire in Anatolia, the Fourth Crusade had prolonged the existence of the old empire of the East! Mr. Runciman invokes the inability of the Crusaders to understand Byzantium; he might also have considered that, except for Alexius Comnenus, the Byzantines were incapable of understanding the Crusaders and of using their armies from the West in order to regain their Asiatic domains.

It was the indigenous Christians who, according to the author, were the chief victims of the Crusades. The Orthodox Sunnis, in effect, came out strengthened by the "holy war"; but were not the first indications of that strengthening prior to the Crusades? The Nestorian Christians of Central Asia had disappeared under the blows of the Muslim Turks by the 14th century, regardless of the role of the Crusades. In like manner, if the Christians of Syria suffered from the counter-coup of the Crusades, the Crusades ought not to be regarded as the only cause of their decline.

To tell the truth, Mr. Runciman does not like the Crusades, "a long act of intolerance in the name of God, which is the sin against the Holy Ghost." The notion of tolerance is very modern, and the judgment thus carries the appearance of being very subjective. But, to that transgression against the Holy Ghost Mr. Runciman has consecrated three very beautiful volumes, a very precise synthesis, very controlled, very lively — three volumes which will be read by the literate public and which will remain on the desk of the historian of the Crusades.

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PALESTINE

THE ONE REMAINS, by Stewart Perowne. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1954. 192 pages. 20s.

Reviewed by Rev. Edward P. Arbez

The author has been connected for many years with the British government service in

the Near East in various capacities. Living in Palestine since his retirement in 1951, he has busied himself with work for the Arab refugees, carried on in cooperation with Dr. Stewart, the Anglican bishop in Jerusalem. He thus has a firsthand acquaintance with the facts which he reports.

The book includes several historical passages: a description of the walls and gates of Jerusalem in 1898, the varying fortunes of Jewish settlement in Jerusalem, and the contributions of the Christian pilgrims and travelers to a knowledge of the geography and history of Palestine. Occasionally we find descriptions of customs which are disappearing or have fallen into desuetude, as the Nabi Musa Festival and the Ramadan calls or visits, or a modern scene of buying land which reminds us of Abraham's purchase of the cave of Machpelah (Gen. 23).

However, the chief interest of what Perowne has to say lies in his account of the present situation in Arab Palestine, more particularly in his discussion of the problem of the Arab refugees. Some critics, we may be sure, will object to his account as one-sided, for Perowne gives us the Arab story. His sympathies are frankly with the Arabs with whom he has spent so many years, many of them his personal friends and old associates — and it must be borne in mind that they are the victims. Does this mean that the account is false? Not necessarily so if the facts are correct, and if the reader remembers that the author does not intend to give a full presentation of the Arab-Israeli dispute.

There are over 800,000 Arab refugees, for the most part Muslims. They left their homes in panic, but expected to come back in a short time. Was their fear of the Jews justified?

One may argue about it, just as one may argue about the panicky flight of the people in Belgium, Luxemburg, and the northern part of France before the advance of the Nazis. Did the flight of the Arab population, descendants of those who had occupied the land for well over a thousand years (a good historical title to possession), mean that they were giving up their rights, so that the Israeli government and the Jewish National Fund might sell "abandoned land"? Considerations such as these help understand the attitude of the refugees —

their stubborn refusal to acknowledge the present state of things as final, and their profound mistrust of Israel and of the West, especially the United States, which is regarded as responsible for the present situation. The Jews, with their fear of Germany, should understand, as do many others in France and elsewhere, such an attitude on the part of the Arab refugees even if they regard it as unjustified. It will be a long time before these Arabs can be induced to consider terms of settlement other than a return to their homes and, it may be said also, before Israel is willing to offer anything acceptable to them. Agreement can come only if the Arab leaders are moved by a sincere desire to help their people effectively within the limits of the present realities, and the nations involved, especially Israel, develop a real willingness to right as far as possible the wrongs done by them.

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ISRAEL

BETWEEN PAST AND FUTURE: ESSAYS AND STUDIES ON ASPECTS OF IMMIGRANT ABSORPTION IN ISRAEL, edited by Carl Frankenstein. Jerusalem: The Henrietta Szold Foundation for Child and Youth Welfare, 1953. 335 pages. No price listed.

THE ABSORPTION OF IMMIGRANTS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY BASED MAINLY ON THE JEWISH COMMUNITY IN PALESTINE AND THE STATE OF ISRAEL, by S. N. Eisenstadt. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1954. 275 pages. 25s; Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955. \$6.00.

Reviewed by Raphael Patai

The absorption of immigrants has in recent years proved to be one of the gravest internal problems of Israel. As of 1954 almost half of its Jewish population was of Middle Eastern origin, and the great cultural disparity between this and the European element made it the more difficult to absorb the Oriental immigrants into the cultural, social, and economic order of the country. The extent to

which the Oriental immigrants are recognized as the problem children of Israel is attested by the fact that 11 out of the 13 essays contained in the volume *Between Past and Future* are devoted wholly or mainly to issues arising from the effort of Israeli institutions to acculturate them. Little is said in these articles about European immigrants, who figure merely as material for comparison against which to gauge the special problems of the Middle Eastern immigrants.

Hagith Rieger discusses "Some Aspects of the Acculturation of Yemenite Youth Immigrants." S. D. Goitein, in his "Jewish Education in Yemen as an Archetype of Traditional Jewish Education," gives a valuable background paper. The immigrant settlement of Rosh Ha'ayin, the development of which is discussed in Fanny Raphael's study, was inhabited in the period covered (1949-53) by 15,000 Yemenite Jewish immigrants. Jacob Maimon's essay, "Teaching Immigrants in Ma'abarot" (*ma'abara* is a temporary immigrants' settlement) presents the lessons gained from field work in four *ma'abarot* inhabited by Middle Eastern immigrants. Miss R. Sapir gives "An Evaluation of a Temporary Foster-Placement Scheme for Immigrant Children," in which the main problem was the cultural incompatibility between the Oriental foster children and the European foster parents. Three papers (by Hanokh Reinhold, Carl Frankenstein, and Leah Adar) deal with the "Youth Aliyah," that is, the institution taking care of unaccompanied immigrant children, the majority of whom came from Middle Eastern countries. Gina Ortar's study, "A Comparative Analysis of the Structure of Intelligence in Various Ethnic Groups," centers around the differences between European and Oriental Jewish children aged 10 to 15. Ortar and Frankenstein present their conclusions as to "How to Develop Abstract Thinking in Immigrant Children from Oriental Countries." The editor's introductory essay, "The Problem of Ethnic Differences in the Absorption of Immigrants," stresses the need for discovering "the assets underlying the liabilities" in the personality of the Oriental immigrant as an indispensable prerequisite of his re-education and integration.

These 11 studies are the fruit of a con-

scientious utilization of modern social science research methods within the context of actual field-work situations, and in this lies their undeniable value. The remaining two papers (by Joseph Ben-David on "Ethnic Differences or Social Change?" and by Shmuel N. Eisenstadt on "The Process of Absorption of Immigrants in Israel") are so out of line with the general tone and specific findings of the 11 studies enumerated above that their place in the volume appears questionable.

Eisenstadt's volume on *The Absorption of Immigrants* is in the main an extension of his paper published in *Between Past and Future*, with the addition of some extraneous material. Neither in the book nor in the paper is it mentioned what the scope of the field work was upon which the conclusions are based, or who carried it out and when. However, from a pamphlet published by Mr. Eisenstadt in Jerusalem in 1951 and entitled "Absorption of Immigrants in Israel," we learn that the field work was carried out from Oct. 1949 to Nov. 1950, not by him but by a number of unidentified field workers who appear to have been members of a research seminar in sociology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. Nine hundred and fifty-four immigrant families from 12 different countries were studied. The average length of stay of the immigrants in Israel was, at the beginning of the study, 5 months; at its conclusion, 19 months.

On the basis of this material, the author found in 1951 that the following six types existed among the immigrants: (1) the isolated apathic family; (2) the isolated stable family; (3) the isolated active family; (4) the cohesive ethnic group; (5) the self-transforming ethnic group; and (6) the pioneering type. In his *Between Past and Future* article, published in 1953, the sixth category is omitted, and type 5 is called "the self-transforming cohesive ethnic group." In the present book, published in 1954 but seemingly still based on the same material, the classification again changes. Type 4 is now called "the cohesive traditional group." Type 5 becomes "the self-transforming cohesive group," and a sixth type again reappears, called "the instrumentally cohesive group." This type 6 consists, according to the 1954 presentation, of families from Poland, Rumania, parts of Hungary, and also to some

extent from Iraq, while the 1951 variety of type 6 consisted of North Africans only. Similar inconsistencies are shown by the assignment of ethnic groups to the other types. According to the 1951 findings, type 4, for example, comprised families from Yemen, Turkey, and North Africa, but in 1954 Turkey is omitted and instead Iran and Iraq are added. Type 5 in the 1951 report comprised families from Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Central and Eastern Europe; according to the 1953 article "almost all the families belonging to this type come from the Balkans — Serbia, Bulgaria and Hungary"; and according to the 1954 book "almost all the families belonging to this type come from the Balkans — Serbia or Bulgaria." In view of this inconsistency one cannot help doubting the reliability of the author's method of classification.

Of the inaccuracies only samplings can be given. Page 44, top, reads: "The fifth *Aliyah* began in 1929 . . ."; same page, bottom, reads: "In 1932, when the fifth *Aliyah* began . . ." On p. 90 the "chief groups" of the Oriental Jews are enumerated as follows: "Sephardim, Persians, Kurds, Babylonians, Yemenites, Moghrebites (from Morocco), Jews from Bukhara, Haleb, Urfa, Georgia, Afghanistan, and other such areas." It is incorrect to subsume the Sephardi Jews under the general heading of Oriental Jews. The author shows no awareness that the "Babylonians" are identical with the Jews of Baghdad ("Bavel," i.e., Babylonia, being the traditional Hebrew name for Baghdad). The Moghrebites come not only from Morocco but also from Tunisia and Algeria. Haleb is the Hebrew and Arabic name for Aleppo; Urfa is a town on the southern border of Turkey; these two, therefore, cannot be referred to as "areas." Besides, instead of these two very small Jewish communities, the Iraqi (130,000), North African (75,000), Libyan (35,000), Turkish (38,000), etc., immigrants should be listed among the "main groups." To say that the Oriental Jews "spoke Arabic or a Ladino dialect" (p. 93) is wrong on two counts: first, the Oriental Jews spoke Arabic, or Persian, or Neo-Aramaic; secondly, Ladino is the language of the Sephardi, and not of the Oriental, Jews.

Mr. Eisenstadt has a general tendency to schematize and to talk in absolutes. For in-

stance, he states categorically, "we can distinguish between those [new immigrants] who . . . showed positive or negative predisposition to change," (p. 114), and then goes on to describe in detail the "main differences between the two types." Issue must be taken with this basic approach: a human group does not fall into two opposite categories; it exhibits a continuous range from one extreme to the other. Again, speaking of the crisis experienced by the "cohesive traditional group," he says, "the outcome of the crisis may be either negative or positive" (p. 155), whereas the outcome of a crisis may range from the negative to the positive.

Occasionally the author gets involved in self-contradictory statements; e.g., p. 159, he characterizes the "self-transforming cohesive group" as having "a very limited insistence on their specific cultural patterns and a consequent wide activity according to the patterns of the new country." On p. 162, still speaking of the same group, he says: "their anomic tendencies may also take shape in a growing emphasis on their particular expressive patterns of life as wholly distinct from those of the absorbing society."

This disappointing volume may nevertheless render a positive service by directing the attention of qualified social scientists to the great research needs and opportunities represented by the large-scale immigration into Israel of European and Middle Eastern ethnic groups.

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LIFE IN A KIBBUTZ, by Murray Weingarten.
New York: Reconstructionist Press, 1955.
173 pages. \$3.25.

Reviewed by Maud Rosenbaum-Spaer

As the title indicates, this book deals with the problems and patterns of life in the Israeli collective settlements, the so-called "kibbutzim" (singular, "kibbutz"). These settlements may be roughly defined as mainly agricultural, self-contained villages, each of which pools its earnings and keeps a common household on a

basis of equality. They have now a population of about 70,000. The earliest have recently celebrated their 40th anniversary and are flourishing villages that make excellent show places for tourists.

A kibbutz, however, is not only interesting to the tourist, but could be a research laboratory for the social scientist. The truth, however, is that very little has as yet been written about it from a scientific point of view. Literature of a more general and descriptive kind is somewhat more abundant, and as the book under review falls under this heading the publisher no doubt overstates the case when he describes it as "the only book of its kind in English." Nevertheless, the book is up to date; it is well and vividly written; it touches upon the basic problems of kibbutz life. And best of all, it is essentially matter of fact and not unduly burdened by propaganda and sentimentality.

Murray Weingarten, an American-born Jew, is a founding member of Gesher Haziv, a 6-year-old kibbutz in Western Galilee. He knows his subject and deals with it as objectively as could be expected from one who is himself a kibbutz member. He recognizes the naturalness and necessity of evolutionary change within the accepted general framework of kibbutz institutions. Change in a collective is usually retrogressive, i.e., away from extreme collectivism. There are problems of change, writes Mr. Weingarten, which strike "at the very roots of the kibbutz framework, but which may make the difference between happy people who will attract others and a pressured community erupting in all directions."

These evolutionary questions do not concern fundamental principles, such as collective ownership of production, but the daily life of the settlement's members. Shall the children sleep in children's houses (as is usually the case) or with their parents? Is absolute equality as concerns small personal items necessary? One might find Mr. Weingarten's views on these problems very sensible, unsensational, and unprovocative. This does not mean that they are the views of the majority of the kibbutz population. Mr. Weingarten himself can hardly be considered a typical kibbutz member. His country of origin and consequent differences

in outlook may be one reason for this, for only a small minority of kibbutz members stem from Anglo-Saxon countries, the majority coming from Central and Eastern Europe. Furthermore, Mr. Weingarten's settlement belongs to the most moderate and least "leftist" of the three main kibbutz federations. The other two, which together comprise a majority of the kibbutzim, are more extreme, and some of Mr. Weingarten's views would hardly be prevalent amongst their members. In particular, the most left wing of these federations, the "Kibbutz Artzi," is an illustration of the fact that the more radical a society, the more conservative it is in guarding its radicalism—in this particular case, not only politically but also socially.

As is appropriate to his title, Mr. Weingarten but scantily pictures the foundation, background, and history of the kibbutz movement. The foundation of Gesher Haziv is, however, vividly described. In the chapters dealing with the different spheres of kibbutz life, the particular experiences of the members of the author's settlement are usually given side by side with an account and appraisal of problems and customs of the kibbutzim at large. The result is usually both informative and interesting, even if one sometimes wishes that the author had gone still deeper into the questions dealt with.

In the end the touchiest of all kibbutz problems is approached: has the kibbutz a future? The author stresses in all justification that "the kibbutz is a society which must continually attract new people to its banner." This is not only important from the point of view of kibbutz economy and the problems of hired labor, but is vital for the morale of a pioneering society. The kibbutzim failed to absorb any considerable proportion of the mass immigration that reached the country following the establishment of the state of Israel. Their recruitment difficulties can be seen both as cause and result of the fact that they are no longer looked upon as the backbone of Zionist settlement. As only prosperous agricultural and partly industrialized villages, the kibbutzim probably have no future. The movement is built on an ideological basis; only if this basis remains alive and in touch with the realities and needs of Israeli life will the kibbutz have

a future. Mr. Weingarten does not directly answer this question, nor does this reviewer feel capable of doing so.

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SUDAN

THE SUDAN, by Sir Harold MacMichael.
London: Benn, 1954. 256 pages. 21s.

Reviewed by Alan B. Theobald

The British administration of the Sudan has ended, and the country is at present passing through a brief transitional stage of self-government before deciding its own future, either as an independent country or with some degree of unity with Egypt. Sir Harold MacMichael's survey of the history of the Sudan up to the establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in 1898, the country's subsequent development under the guidance of Britain (always in fact the sole governing power), and its rapid political progress during the last ten years, comes therefore at a particularly appropriate time.

Sir Harold's 60-page summary of the previous history of the Sudan up to 1898 is inevitably very sketchy. Thus none of the romantic events or captivating personalities who shaped the destinies of the Sudan in the last twenty years of the 19th century — Sir Samuel Baker, General Gordon, the Mahdi, the Khalifa 'Abd Allahi, Lord Kitchener, to mention only a few — achieve life in these pages. All are reduced to the same level of prosaic fact.

In Part 2 of the book, which is aptly named "Construction," Sir Harold, who himself had a distinguished career in the Sudan, is more at his ease. He lucidly describes one of the great success stories of the 20th century — how a small band of devoted British administrators brought peace, justice, and solvency to a distracted land, and how on the foundations were built an enlightened administration and modest prosperity. The development of the great Gezira cotton scheme, in which the interests of the government, a commercial company, and the Sudanese peasant-tenants were harmoniously blended, would alone be sufficient justification of the beneficence of British administration.

Yet while Sir Harold tells us much to admire, he damages his own case by his entirely uncritical attitude. This is particularly apparent in the fields of education and health. "Twenty years ago," he writes, "the pace of educational progress in the Sudan seemed rapid and perturbing to those who had worked there from the early days. Now it appears nothing short of phenomenal." Yet twenty years ago there were only two small technical schools and one secondary school in the Sudan, and a total of about 14,000 children being educated in government schools at all levels. The relatively swift advance in recent years (much assisted by energetic Sudanese private enterprise) should surely rather be regarded as a belated attempt to redress the stagnation that characterized the Sudan government's educational policy for twenty-five years, following the retirement in 1914 of the first great Director of Education, Sir James Currie. Similarly, it can hardly be cause for congratulation that after over fifty years of British administration there were only 106 Sudanese doctors in a country with a population of nearly 9 million.

In contrast to the caution that has characterized the Sudan government's development of social services, political progress has always been steady, and in the last ten years extremely fast. In Part 3, Sir Harold traces the stages by which the Sudan has leapt from the Advisory Council for the Northern Sudan in 1944 to a fully developed Sudanese government, with all the apparatus of democratic government on the Western model, in 1954. Sir Harold rightly and wisely points out the dangers that attend this sudden transition, but the good start that the all-Sudanese government has made is a tribute not only to the capacity and character of the Sudanese, but to the sound training they have received under their British administrators. That the change has been carried out without impairing the mutual friendship and respect of British and Sudanese is further evidence of the success of their association during the previous half-century.

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ASIA MINOR

IONIA: A QUEST, by Freya Stark. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954. xxiv + 263 pages, map, 62 photos. \$6.00.

Reviewed by G. G. Arnakis

Miss Freya Stark's travel books on various countries of the Near East have made some of the less accessible areas, especially of the Arabian Peninsula, known to a wide reading public, and have brought to the author the reputation of being the most adventurous woman traveller of our time. In her present book, Miss Stark maps out a less adventurous course, which is none the less fascinating. She undertakes to explore and interpret the Aegean world.

Ionia came out at about the same time as Robert Liddell's *Aegean Greece* (London, 1954) and Lawrence Durrell's *Reflections on a Marine Venus* (London, 1953). All three of these books are permeated with genuine love of the Aegean landscape, and they impart to the reader some of the charm which the authors experienced. But in contrast to Liddell's book, which describes places continuously inhabited and not too far out of the tourist's route, and very unlike Durrell's, which concentrates on the Dodecanese Islands, Miss Stark's *Ionia* is a quest for the lost Greek cities of antiquity that dotted the coast of Western Asia Minor. She visits the sites of 55 Ionian and Aeolian communities, scattered within a radius of fifty miles north, south, and east of the flourishing city of Smyrna, and only in one of them — and that was Pergamum — does she meet another tourist, sightseeing like herself.

Some of the least known sites, partly excavated by archaeologists, are in a state of complete abandonment. Hidden in forests, covered by swamps, or used as temporary quarries for the neighboring peasants, they aroused Miss Stark's curiosity, which feeds her interest in Greek history and prehistory. She turns avidly to the sources, and discovers that Herodotus is still a valuable guide to the background of the present ruins. Every step presents a new discovery and a new surprise. Knowing the limitations of the general reader in historical knowledge, she offers to orient him in an intro-

ductory chapter, entitled "Synopsis of History." After grasping the broad outlines of the Aegean Asiatic drama, the reader is ready to follow the traveller to such places as Clazomenae, home of Anaxagoras the philosopher, Teos, the city of Anacreon the poet, Myrina, Gryneium, Pitane, Colophon, Phocaea, Sardis, Ephesus, Priene, Miletus, Magnesia, and Aphrodesias.

To each of these places and to others like them, Miss Stark devotes a chapter. Each chapter is subtitled with a phrase which may be descriptive of a historical fact or institution and is expected to provide the motif for that portion of the narrative; for example, "Colophon: The Position of Women"; "Pergamum: Raiders of the Border"; "Magnesia: Persian Administration." Thus the author attempts to penetrate the past and carry the reader with her, beyond the scanty ruins which nature, time, and man have permitted to survive until the present. Miss Stark has a brilliant way of making the past live again.

This is Miss Stark's first attempt to present the historical background of Turkey. After visiting the interior of the country, she plans to write on the Seljuk and the Ottoman periods and their monuments and relics.

♦ G. G. ARNAKIS is Visiting Associate Professor of History at the University of Kansas.

THE ARMENIAN COMMUNITY: THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF A SOCIAL AND IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT, by Sarkis Atamian. New York: Philosophical Library, 1955. 479 pages. \$4.75.

Reviewed by A. O. Sarkissian

The average Western reader, as well as most of the "specialist-experts" on Near Eastern affairs, has seldom had the opportunity of gaining a thorough and objective understanding of the Armenians. There are numerous reasons for this lack of understanding, but to this reviewer three of them are of paramount importance. First, there is not enough adequate literature on the Armenians in Western languages, and most of what there is serves a limited purpose. Second, it is unfortunate for the Armenians that the West's interest in their fate has been decisively conditioned by its relations with the Turks. And third, Ar-

menian leaders (including the so-called "intellectuals") have not always been the best spokesmen of their just, righteous, and humanitarian cause.

When Mr. Atamian began his study it was hoped that as a student trained in sociology, he would produce a work that could portray, factually and faithfully, the Armenian community, a quarter of a million of whom now live in the United States. He has not produced such a work because only about one-fourth of his book he devotes to Armenian-Americans, while in the remainder he delves into topics which are only remotely related to his study. This reviewer admits that a certain amount of background information is essential for the proper understanding and evaluation of a subject, but one should not wander too far into the background, for there is danger of being bogged down there. And this is what Mr. Atamian does in his too-frequent discussion of detailed, and sometimes irrelevant, events. His lengthy narratives on the aims and ideals of several Armenian factions, their internecine rivalries, the virtues and vices of certain leaders (always painted in black and white), Communist and Christian doctrines, Islam in Turkey, Armeno-Turkish and Armeno-Kurdish relations, and of course the diplomacy of the Powers in the Near East add little, if anything, to the value of his study. With the first of the last three chapters the author begins his discussion of the Armenian community in America, but he hastily disposes of it in some 20 pages. Then he proceeds to devote the remaining two longest chapters to the alleged "pro-Communist campaign" carried on by one Armenian faction against another, and the status of the Armenian Apostolic Church.

In all of these matters, the author is certainly entitled to his opinion. Allegations, assertions, and pro-and-con statements stridently expounded should, however, be accompanied by at least a modicum of factual evidence. For example, the contention that the head of the Armenian Apostolic Church (the Catholicos of Echmiadzin) in Soviet Armenia is spearheading a pro-Communist campaign (p. 428) needs more evidence than the sole statement issued some years ago by the late Catholicos George VI advocating world peace. The prelates of Armenian dioceses are not designated

by the Catholicos (p. 360); they are locally elected. Armenian church leaders in this country did not "voluntarily" decide to have the Church designated as "Orthodox" (p. 436). This unfortunate decision was made by the last prelate, Archbishop Nersoyan, and for that reason he was ousted from office. In 1921, when the Soviet authorities instituted their regime in Armenia, they did not liquidate the Catholicos (p. 433); he died in office in 1930. The Catholicos of Sis (now at Antilyas, Lebanon) does not have jurisdiction over Armenian churches in the West (p. 440). His jurisdiction is limited to the churches in Lebanon. Finally, the Armenian church leadership has not reconciled "the tenets of Christianity with Marxist Communism" (p. 347). These are some of the numerous factual errors in this poorly planned and poorly written book.

♦ A. O. SARKISSIAN is analyst in Middle Eastern and East European affairs in the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, and the author of *History of the Armenian Question to 1885*.

TURKEY

DIE TÜRKEI IN DEN JAHREN 1942-1951: GESCHICHTSKALENDER MIT NAMEN-UND SACHREGISTER, by Gotthard Jäschke. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1955. viii + 196 pages. DM 20.

Reviewed by Howard A. Reed

Professor Jäschke of Münster University has been for many years editor of *Die Welt des Islams*, the excellent journal which deals with the contemporary world of Islam. He is also the author of a number of books and many articles on Turkey. This valuable work is the latest in his remarkable series of chronologies for modern Turkish affairs from 1918 on. Its indispensable predecessors appeared as follows: I: 1918-1928; II: 1929; III: 1930; IV: 1931-1932 in *Die Welt des Islams*, vols. 10, 12, and 15; V: 1933-1934, with index to volumes I-V (prepared by Siegfried Rzeppa), in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen zu Berlin*, vol. 38 (1935), and in *Mitteilungen der Ausland-Hochschule an der Universität Berlin*, vol. 41 (1938); VI: 1935-1941, in *Sammlung orientalistischer Arbeiten*,

No. 13 (Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1943). The first two volumes have been translated into Turkish. Unfortunately, the stock of volume V, which appeared during the late war and could not readily be obtained in this country, was virtually obliterated during an Allied air raid, and it is now out of print.

The present analysis covers the important war years, the postwar years when a multi-party system began to emerge, and the period of the Democrat Party's rise to power and first 18 months of office. It is peculiarly important because it preserves and organizes a great body of material, much of which is hard to come by even in Turkey. Dr. Jäschke presents a wide range of political, economic, social, and cultural facts on Turkey's internal and external affairs. He also enlarges the perspective of this study by including references to regional and world events not strictly related to Turkey, yet important to a fuller understanding of its situation. Among these are the battle of al-Alamein, the establishment of the Rumanian People's Republic, the Karachi Islamic Congress of January 1951, and General Eisenhower's assumption of the NATO command. Professor Jäschke also cites useful bibliographical references to Turkish and foreign periodicals and books of special concern to Turkey.

Chronological and bio-bibliographical notices for the decade 1942-1951 occupy pages 1-159. On pages 159-161 there is a handy summary listing the names and terms of offices of all Presidents of the Republic and Presidents of the Grand National Assembly since 1920, the legislative sessions and reference numbers of the laws enacted in each from November 1, 1941, to March 12, 1954, and the names and terms of cabinet ministers in office between 1938 and 1951. Pages 162-196 contain a full, well organized index of names, events, and institutions. All references to topics such as road construction, education, or Islam are also grouped under these and similar main headings. That there are astonishingly few errors in the book testifies to the author's painstaking diligence and the exact care of the publishers. A minor improvement would be to index terms such as *Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*, *Halkevi*, or *Köy Enstitüsü* in Turkish just as *Türk Tarih Kurumu*, *Menderes*, *Adnan*, and a host of other Turkish terms and proper names have

been listed, or at least to cross reference these familiar Turkish words to their German equivalents, where they are now indexed.

Although not designed for easy reading, this book is a mine of information on modern Turkey which can readily yield rich ore on a great variety of subjects in well organized form. It makes tremendously instructive reading. One cannot but do homage to its learned compiler for his singularly useful achievement.

♦ HOWARD A. REED, formerly assistant professor and assistant director of the Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, is now on the staff of the Ford Foundation as Program Specialist in Training and Research. He is primarily concerned with education in the Near East.

IRAN

THE CARMELITE, by Elgin Groseclose. New York: Macmillan, 1955. xii+289 pages. \$3.75.

Reviewed by Harold Lamb

From the day of Cyrus the Achaemenid, the history of the Iranians has been interwoven with that of the eastern European powers, whether Greek, Roman, Byzantine, or Osmanli Turkish. In Justinian's day the ambassador of the Sasanian court remarked with some justice that their two nations stood like "two towers of light illumining the world." In the reign of Kanuni Sultan Suleiman—"the Magnificent" to Europeans—Ogier Busbecq, the Austrian ambassador at Constantinople, wrote home that "Tis only the Persian stands between us and ruin." That was because only the might of the Shahinshahs, Isma'il and Tamasp, seemed to the anxious Busbecq to be capable of opposing the victorious Turks upon the field of battle. But Western historians and novelists alike have told us little of this significant past of Iran.

When, at the close of the 16th century, the youthful Abbas won his way to the throne of the Safavids and began to build his dream city of Isfahan, the Europeans had the same need of the Persian as an ally in the east; and England, as well as Venice and the Italian maritime cities, had the additional need of a trade inlet to Persia that would bypass both the

Turkish citadels of the land and the Spanish-Portuguese ports on the sea routes to the riches of Asia. But the road from London or Rome to Isfahan was not an easy one.

The story of *The Carmelite* sheds a clear light upon that troubled road and upon the seldom chronicled life of Isfahan during the last twenty-odd years of the reign of the enigmatic Shah Abbas. These were the years when Sir Robert Sherley served as a pioneer of British empire and trade, and the Friar Juan of St. Eisaeus was sent by Pope Clement VIII, with only fortitude to aid him, to carry out the two impossible tasks of winning Abbas to an alliance with Christendom and founding a Carmelite mission in Persia.

Elgin Groseclose has lived and worked in no casual way from the barrier of the Caucasus to the mountains of Afghanistan. He has the ability to lead the reader into the realities of the historical past, close to the earth of what are terra incognita to most American readers. His novel touches on the pageantry of a court that dwelt in tents as well as palaces; it follows, above all, the mind and heart of Father Juan, who sought contemplation in a thronging caravanserai and used an oversized camel bell to summon the companions of his ordeal to prayer. Its suspense endures until the last page.

Mr. Groseclose draws a portrait of Shah Abbas that may well be questioned. However, his sympathy leads him not to the higher personalities of Iran but to the otherwise almost unrecorded Christians of the church of the East — the Armenians, Assyrians, and their fellows. The flamboyant Circassian princess, Shamala, so thoroughly at home in such a court of splendor, becomes in the end a woman of simple, poignant appeal.

It is the merit of this unusual book that in it the trappings of history yield place to simple human joys and suffering. Father Juan, at the end of twenty years in a strange land, longed to gather all the sights of it and its remembered places into his arms for a last embrace. Aware only that he had, as he thought, failed, he never realized that the victory had been to Our Lady of Carmel.

✦ HAROLD LAMB is the author of numerous biographical and historical narratives dealing with the Middle East, the most recent being *Suleiman the Magnificent* (1951).

ISLAM

ANALECTA ORIENTALIA, ed. by H. P. Blok, G. W. J. Drewes, T. B. J. Kuiper, and P. Voorhoeve. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954. xv + 372 pages, 12 figures. Gld. 27.

Reviewed by Harold W. Glidden

This is the first in a planned series of two volumes comprising the posthumous writings and selected minor works of the late Dutch Orientalist J. H. Kramers, who died in 1951. Included in it are both unpublished works and lesser-known published material.

Kramers' career exhibits the combination of depth of scholarship and catholicity of interest characteristic of the best of the older generation of European Orientalists. It reflects an era when scholarship of a scope ranging over wide areas of ancient and modern Turkish, Iranian, and Arabic studies was still possible, and before the spate of modern literature produced by the new Turkey and independent Arab states made greater specialization imperative. Nevertheless, Kramers' interest in Arabic literature was relatively more restricted than his concern with Turkish and Iranian studies, an observation borne out by the contents of this volume.

Turkology, geography, and Iranian studies constitute the three subject divisions into which the material is partitioned. Kramers' initiation to the Near East via Turkish studies is reflected in the fact that the earliest articles in this collection deal with that field. They are concerned, in the main, with topics broad in scope: "Historiography among the Ottoman Turks" surveys the period of the 14th-century *Oghuz-nameh* epic tradition down to the last Imperial historiographer, who was still living when Kramers wrote this article in 1922. In "Islam in Asia Minor" Kramers points out, among other things, that the Islamization of the Turks not only hindered their borrowing from the West, but also dampened the nascent Turkish national feeling which had begun to make itself felt in the Orkhon inscriptions. "Les Pays-Bas et le régime des capitulations" points out that until the 19th century a treaty was looked upon by the Turks more or less as an act of submission on the part of the second party. Dissatisfaction with the capitulations

was a result of the Turks' becoming Westernized. It began at the top, where the degree of Westernization was greatest, and was stimulated by a change in the character of the foreign communities from isolated groups to important participants in Turkish economic and social life. Much of the same general subject matter is dealt with in "The Netherlands and Turkey in the Golden Age," which brings out the fact that the rapprochement between Protestant England, as well as Holland, and Turkey in the 16th and 17th centuries was due to a common antipathy to Catholic Spain. "Les Khazars" is a review of the history of that people, including their relations with the Arabs and the Khwarizmians; the latter appear to have been responsible for the introduction among the Khazars of Islam, which competed with the Judaism already established among them by the end of the 8th century.

Geography, constituting the second section of the book, represents the field in which Kramers was best known abroad at the time of his death. "L'influence de la tradition iranienne dans la géographie arabe" deals with problems arising from the preponderance of Iranian influence in Arab geography after the end of the 9th century. The question of the source of the al-Balkhi and al-Istakhri series of maps is analyzed, with Kramers concluding that they must be based on lost Iranian prototypes. "L'Erythrée Xe siècle" points out that beginning with al-Balkhi (10th century) and his successors, there becomes apparent a lack of interest in non-Islamic countries which is accompanied by a decrease in trade with the outside world. More particularly, this article is devoted to the problem of the identification of certain difficult ethnic and place names dealt with in Ibn Hawqal's account of Eritrea. The present reviewer suggests that the name Jasah, designating a people living in Eritrea between the 'Ajat and the sea (pp. 158, 160), may be identical with a woman's name occurring on one of the 9th-century Arabic tombstones from Khor Nubt near Kassala in the Sudan.

In "Al-Ushmunain in den arabischen Quellen des Mittelalters," the Saruj (p. 169) who appears in the legendary history of Egypt as a contemporary of Ushmun ibn Qibt, the first king of Egypt, is clearly the patriarch Serug of Genesis 11:20-23 and not the Assyrian king

Sargon, as Kramers suggests. "La littérature géographique classique des Musulmans" is a major article providing a critique of the place of geography in Islamic science and of its methodology. It again stresses the strength of Iranian influences on Arab geographical concepts and points out the inhibiting effect of reliance on tradition on progress in this field. The final article in this section, "Al-Biruni's Determination of Geographical Longitude by Measuring the Distances," is essentially a correction of C. Schoy's article "Aus der astronomischen Geographie der Araber," *Isis*, vol. 5 (1923), pp. 51-74. In addition to being rather technical from a mathematical point of view, it is written in an English which at times is unidiomatic and hard to follow.

Iranian studies constitute the final group of articles in this volume. "The Daena in the Gathas" interprets this Avestan term as meaning "religious community" (cf. Arabic *umma*). "The Earliest Period of Iranian History" places the earliest home of the Iranians in the region of Bukhara and Samarkand and discusses the still unsolved problems of the date of the introduction of the Old Persian cuneiform script and of the rise of Zoroastrianism. Two articles—"De Historische Rol van Elam" and "De Achaemeniedisch-Elamitische Inscriptie dar Susa"—are devoted to Elamite studies. The first is a summary of Elamite history as known up to the date of writing. The second is an attempted reconstruction of a trilingual building inscription published by V. Scheil in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse, Mission en Susiane*, vol. 21 (Paris, 1929), pp. 44-47, and dealt with also by W. Brandenstein in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vol. 39 (1932), pp. 44-52. "De Zoroastrische Geloofsbelijdenis" is a translation of the declaration of adherence to the *daena* (community) of Mazda worshippers contained in Yasna 12: 1-9. "L'Iran dans l'histoire et dans la légende" shows that myth and legend served the Iranians as pseudo-history almost to recent times, since these traditions were closely connected with Iranian religious conceptions.

"Mithra" (in Dutch) is devoted to the position and development of the figure of Mithra in Iranian religion. It is a critique of three previous works on this subject:

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J. Hertel's *Die Sonne und Mithra im Avesta* (Leipzig, 1927), H. S. Nyberg's *Die Religionen des alten Iran* (Leipzig, 1938), and G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* (Uppsala and Leipzig, 1938). "De Magiers en hun Boodschap" concludes that the Magians seem to have been a social class and that the term was first used by non-Iranians. "Iranian Fire Worship" traces the connection of fire with various Iranian deities, but points out that fire worship always remained a strongly autonomous institution owing to its background in the very ancient hearth fire. In "Peshawar" Kramers finds that the Paskibouron of the Ka'bah of Zoroaster inscription at Naqsh-e Rostam near Persepolis is not Peshawar, but the name of a people inhabiting Sogdiana. Only two articles deal with modern Persian studies and they are of less general interest: "Omar Chajjam" (in Dutch) and "Die Feuertempel in Fars in Islamischer Zeit." The former is an exposition of the cultural and religious background from which the famed quatrains sprang and compares the Dutch translations of Leopold and Boutens.

In conclusion, it must be remarked that the value of the section on Iranian studies to the American scholar is greatly diminished by the fact that most of the important articles are in the Dutch language. Since other articles were translated into better-known European languages before publication in this volume, it is difficult to understand why this principle was not carried through systematically.

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LA CITÉ MUSULMANE: VIE SOCIALE ET POLITIQUE, by Louis Gardet. Paris: Librairie Philosophique, 1954. 370 pages; 5 appendices, 4 indexes to 450. 1800 Frs.

Reviewed by Felix M. Pareja

Our world is growing smaller. Communities hitherto kept in isolation by geographical features are more and more thrown together by increased and quicker means of communication. Politics have ceased to be a European speciality; they have become a worldwide concern. Populations whose natural growth was kept back in times past by disease, famine,

slave raids, or lack of hygienic conditions are multiplying today at a rate never reached before. The relations, every day closer, between peoples of different races and creeds should be inspired by a spirit of collaboration toward the solution of common problems — by friendliness, not by feelings of suspicion and hostility. The reawakening of Islam in the present time, after long, slumbering centuries, is a fact that cannot be ignored. Yet, among educated people, even leaders of men, misconception and ignorance of Islamic affairs seem to be not the exception but the rule.

This is why works of the type of *La Cité musulmane* by Louis Gardet should be welcome. Gardet is the author, in collaboration with Anawati, of the *Introduction à la théologie musulmane*, published in 1948. In his preface to *La Cité musulmane*, Gardet expressly states that we should consider his work, as indeed it is, a new effort to find a way to approach Islam as it lives in the hearts of Muslims.

Gardet divides his book into four parts dealing respectively with the social and political philosophy of Islam, the organization of powers in an ideal Muslim state, the Muslim community, and Muslim humanism. There are five appendices on the notion of democracy; the *dhimma*, or statute of protection granted by Muslim law to *dhimmi* subjects (the "People of the Book," believers in a revealed religion, mainly Christians and Jews); and the position taken by some Muslim reformists (Muhammad 'Abduh, Rashid Rida, 'Ali 'Abd al-Raziq, Muhammad Iqbal). He deals also in this section with the two Islamic Congresses of 1926, one of them called the "Caliphate Congress," and with the Muslim Brotherhood, the well-known organization born in Egypt and now established in other Muslim countries as well. The following appendix contains an additional note regarding the *waqf*, or religious foundation of real estate settled permanently and irrevocably in the name of Allah, while the last contains a note on the recent political events in Egypt and Morocco. Four indexes, of technical names, of proper nouns, of Qur'anic quotations, and of works referred to in the book, are to be found at the end.

The book reads well, but at the same time leaves the impression of a hasty putting to-

gether of materials written at different times. Many notes, as well as at least some of the appendices, could have been incorporated into the main text. There is no pretence at exhaustiveness, which could not possibly have been attained in the relatively small compass of 370 pages. Judging from the character of the work, addressed rather to the general reader than to specialists, exception could be taken to the adoption, expressly maintained (p. 130, n. 2), of two terms to translate the word *madhhab* as both "school" and "rite." The word "rite," used in this connection, is liable to cause confusion since it has, in most European languages, a technical sense far different from what the word *madhhab* indicates in this case. Generally speaking, it seems more desirable to avoid as much as possible the use of technical terms of one culture or religion in order to describe more or less analogous concepts of other religions or cultures. It would be preferable to begin with a clear definition of the terms proper to each culture or religion and to use them consistently throughout. In this way we would have the double advantage of clear-cut ideas and at the same time of new words conveying new ideas into the language. Some of them, like "hejira" and "Ramadan," are already found in our dictionaries. A general agreement on this point could be procured at the sessions of the next International Congress of Orientalists. In any case, at the moment when the Committee on Muslim Christian Cooperation has just had its second session in Alexandria, the efforts of Gardet, and of all others working along the same line, should be praised and encouraged.

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LINGUISTICS

A GRAMMAR OF PASHTO: A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THE DIALECT OF KANDAHAR, AFGHANISTAN, by Herbert Penzl. Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1955. (ACLS Program in Oriental Languages Publication Series B — Aids — Number 2.). 170 pages. \$1.25.

A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS OF UZBEK, by Charles E. Bidwell. Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1955. (ACLS Program in Oriental Languages Publications Series B — Aids — Number 3). 143 pages. \$1.25.

Reviewed by Charles A. Ferguson

For most languages now spoken in the Middle East there are no adequate descriptive grammars in English; the information, if available at all, must usually be culled from beginners' textbooks, historical studies, or traditional grammars of "classical" or literary languages. In the brief studies under review the ACLS has met this need for two important languages of the area, and it is to be hoped that additional volumes of approximately this scope and level of excellence will appear in the series.

Both studies employ the techniques and terminology of modern descriptive linguistics, but in as straightforward and intelligible a fashion as possible. Penzl says in his preface that his grammar is "not primarily intended to demonstrate an application of descriptive techniques to a modern oriental language, but rather to facilitate instruction in it by the understanding of its structure." But this does not mean that the books are manuals for instruction instead of grammars; each is a concise description of the language, in size somewhere between a structural sketch and an exhaustive reference grammar.

Both studies are based on actual speech material collected from living informants and collated to some extent with published materials on the languages. Both include sections on phonology, morphology, and syntax, and contain short sample texts. Penzl's grammar has also a glossary of all words cited in the body of the book.

The Pashto volume is particularly valuable for the nonspecialist because of the careful, informative introduction which discusses the present status of the language in Afghanistan and Pakistan, the extent of its use, the most important dialects, and the problems of orthography and transcription. It is worth noting that the author, after cautious examination of the statistics available, concludes that there may be as many as 13 million speakers of

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Pashto, which is considerably higher than the estimates usually given.

Points of interest in the grammar include the author's analysis of the affricates as clusters, his explanation of the two oblique cases of the noun with their varied, partially homophonous endings, and his excellent account of the aspect system of the verb, which has generally been ignored by all but the native grammarians. The bibliography is very good and includes grammatical works in Pashto.

Bidwell's *Analysis of Uzbek* is somewhat disappointing in introductory material. For example, the author makes no attempt to explain the relationship between the spoken language of Tashkent, which he is describing, and other dialects or the contemporary literary language or the earlier Chagatai, although occasional comments in the book show his awareness of the problem. There is no mention of the orthography currently in use or of the systems of transcription in other publications. The bibliography, moreover, fails to include a number of important items, especially modern Soviet studies, and has no mention of grammatical works in Uzbek.

The main section of the book, however, is good; the sounds and forms of the language seem to be described clearly and accurately. What the study loses by ignoring some traditional Turkological formulations, it gains in freshness of approach. Of particular interest are the careful analysis of stress and intonation, the discussion of agreement, and the formulaic representations of various types of phrases, clauses, and sentences.

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RECENT PUBLICATIONS

General

American Doctoral Dissertations on Education in Countries of the Middle East, compiled by Walter Crosby Eells. Washington: The Middle East Institute, 1955. 28 pages. 35¢. Lists pertinent information on dissertations covering 16 countries.

Annuaire du Monde Musulman: Statistique, Historique, Social et Economique, 1954, ed. by Louis Massignon. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955. xvi+428 pages. No price indicated.

A 4th edition, revised and brought up to date with the assistance of V. Monteil.

Asia and Africa in the Modern World, ed. by S. L. Poplai. Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1955. 218 pages. Rs. 5. Basic historical and current information on all of the countries of Asia and Africa.

Byzantine Studies and Other Essays, by Norman H. Baynes. London: Athlone Press. 392 pages. 35s. A collection of some of Professor Baynes' leading essays.

Les Chrétiens d'Orient, by Pierre Rondot. Paris: J. Peyronnet, 1955. 322 pages; maps, charts, index, illustrations. 1200 fr. This 4th volume in the *Cahiers de l'Afrique et l'Asie* series is divided into five parts: the Christian mosaic in the Orient; Christianity, Islam, Arabism; the fate of several Oriental Christian nations (Assyrians, Copts, Greek Orthodox); the present situation of Oriental Christians; and Oriental Christians and the world.

Economic Development of the Middle East, 1945-1954. New York: United Nations, 1955. 236 pages, 63 tables. \$3.50.

The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East, ed. by Robert C. Dentan. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955. 376 pages. \$5.00. "Man's thoughts on his own past in the ancient world are the themes of this inquiry by eight authorities in allied fields of Oriental studies. The essays deal not with history itself but with the ideas and concepts attending its development."

Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts Through the Ages, by S. D. Goitein. New York: The Noonday Press, 1955. 234 pages; bibliography, chronological table to 245. \$4.00. Traces the political, economic, and religious contacts between these two peoples from their first beginnings up to their present conflict.

Outlines of Muhammadan Law, by Asaf A. A. Fyzee. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. 403 pages; appendices, bibliography. \$4.25. A 2nd edition of this work for the "elementary student." Additional material includes 33 cases since 1949 with various textual changes.

Social Forces in the Middle East, ed. by Sydney N. Fisher. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955. 262 pages; bibliography, index to 282. \$5.00. Papers presented by 15 scholars at a conference held at Princeton, N. J., in October 1952. Individual chapters discuss the nomad, villager, industrial worker, army officer, clergy, etc.

Symposium on the Protection and Conservation of Nature in the Near East (UNESCO Palace, Beirut, 3-8 June, 1954). Cairo: UNESCO, 1955. 175 pages. Price not indicated. Proceedings of the symposium organized by the Lebanese Society of the Friends of the Trees and the UNESCO Center of Scientific Cooperation for the Middle East, Cairo.

Arab States

al-Bahriyyah al-'arabiyyah wa tataw'uruha fi al-bahr al-mutawassit fi 'ahd Mu'awiyah [The Arab

- Navy and its Development in the Mediterranean during the Reign of Mu'awiyah*]. Tetuan: The House of Moroccan Publications, 1954. 28 pages. No price indicated.
- Crystal Mountain*, by Belle Dorman Rugh. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1955. With illustrations by Ernest H. Shephard. 208 pages. \$2.75. Engagingly told story of a family of American children and their summertime adventures in the mountains of Lebanon. For ages 9-12.
- The Desert and the Stars*, by Flora Armitage. New York: Henry Holt, 1955. 308 pages; bibliography, illustrations, index. \$4.00. A new biography of Lawrence of Arabia.
- The Economic Development of Syria: Report of a Mission Organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1955. 474 pages. \$7.50. A team survey of all aspects of the current Syrian economy with detailed recommendations for future development.
- Foundations in the Dust*, by Seton Lloyd. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955. 256 pages. 65¢. Gives the full story of Mesopotamian archaeology. Reissue of a book first published in 1947.
- The Glory of Egypt*, photographs by Michel Audrian, text and notes by Samivel. Translated from the French by J. E. Manchip White. New York: Vanguard Press. 229 pages. \$10.00. "Photographs of Egypt's ancient architectural monuments and of some of her present-day aspects, taken during an expedition to Egypt by a team of French documentary-film makers."
- The Labor Movement in Egypt*, by Abdel Abou Alam. Washington: Egyptian Embassy, 1955. 19 pages. No charge. The history and present organization of labor unions in Egypt.
- Land Reform and Economic Development*, by Doreen Warriner. Cairo: National Bank of Egypt, 1955. 42 pages. Price not indicated. Four lectures (historical, economic, demographic, political) delivered on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the National Bank of Egypt.
- List of Scientists in Iraq*. Cairo: UNESCO Middle East Science Cooperation Office, 1954. 42 pages. No price indicated. Brief biographic sketches of men in the fields of mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, biology, botany, zoology, medical sciences, engineering, and agricultural sciences.
- Nefertiti Lived Here*, by Mary Chubb. Illustrations by Ralph Lavers. New York: Crowell, 1955. 195 pages. \$3.50. The experiences of a member of a group which explored the Tel al-Amarna site in Egypt, where the bust of Queen Nefertiti was discovered.
- The Oasis of al-Hasa*, by F. S. Vidal. New York: Arabian American Oil Company, 1955. 210 pages. No charge. A study of community organization and the economy of this important area of eastern Arabia.
- The Picnic at Sakkara*, by Percy Howard Newby. New York: Knopf, 1955. 239 pages. \$1.25. "A tale centering around the mild figure of an English lecturer at Cairo University in the days of King Farouk and the student riots."
- The Red Sea Mountains of Egypt*, by L. A. Treganza. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. 265 pages. \$5.00. An account of the author's 1949 trips through Egypt's eastern desert. Particular emphasis on archaeology and natural history.
- Report of Operations, 1954, to the Saudi Arab Government by the Arabian American Oil Company*. New York: Arabian American Oil Company, 1955. 104 pages. No price indicated. In English and Arabic.
- A Show of Force*, by Stewart Thompson. New York: Harper, 1955. 286 pages. \$3.50. A novel of an English oil community in an Arab environment.
- Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village*, by John Gulick. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., 1955. 188 pages; bibliography, photos. \$3.50. A detailed study of society in the village of al-Munsif, between Beirut and Tripoli.
- Summary of Syrian Foreign Trade, Fourth Quarter and Year 1954*. Damascus: Government Press, 1955. 62 pages. No price indicated. Statistical charts in Arabic and English.
- Travels in Arabia Deserta*, by Charles M. Doughty. New York: Doubleday, 1955. 349 pages. \$1.25. A new Anchor Book of this classic, somewhat abridged.
- With Lawrence in Arabia*, by Lowell Thomas. New York: Grosset, 1955. 316 pages. \$1.95. A reprint of this work, first published in 1924, with a new preface by the author.

Ethiopia

- The Ethiopian Empire: Federation and Laws*, by Nathan Marein. Rotterdam: Vurheim and Son, Ltd., 1955. 455 pages. \$10.00. Paraphrases some of the principal enactments, especially those concerning the judicial system and court procedure, both in Ethiopia and Eritrea.
- Some Records of Ethiopia, 1593-1646*, translated and edited by C. F. Beckingham and G. W. B. Huntingford. London: The Hakluyt Society, 1954. xcvi+267 pages. No price indicated. Translated sections of the Portuguese work *The History of High Ethiopia or Abassia* by Manoel de Almeida, together with Bahrey's *History of the Galla*. Includes a long introduction by the editors.

India

- Appleby Report on Public Administration in India*, by Iqbal Narain. Agra: Ram Narain Agarwal and Sons, 1954. 33 pages. Rs. 1/8.
- At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi*, by Prasad Rajendra. New York: W. S. Heinman, 1955. 357 pages. \$3.50. "A disciple of Gandhi writes of his memories of the Mahatma, which go back to 1916."
- Commonwealth Citizenship with Special Reference*

to India, by Clive Parry. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1954. 25 pages. Distributed by the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 30¢.

Democratic Government in India, by N. Srinivasan. Calcutta: The World Press, 1954. 404 pages. Rs. 10. A study of the Indian constitution, including historical background, the "preliminaries" of the constitution, and its democratic implications.

The Development of National Education in India, by K. C. Vyas. Bombay: Vora, 1954. 140 pages. Rs. 4. The growth of the Indian educational system from the 18th century to the present, including a critical discussion of the English school system in India.

Economic Planning in India, by Baljit Singh. Bombay: Hind Kitab, Ltd., 1954. 155 pages. Rs. 4/12.

Historical Selections from Baroda Records (New Series). Vol. I: *Sayaji Rao II, 1826-1835*, compiled by V. G. Joshi. General Editor, P. M. Joshi. Baroda, India: Government Press, 1955. 341 pages. Rs. 2/8.

A History of Indian Philosophy. Volume V: *The Southern School of Saivism*, by Surendranath Dasgupta. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1955. 204 pages. \$6.00. The chapter headings are: The Literature of Southern Saivism; Vira-Saivism; Philosophy of Srikantha; Saiva Philosophy in the Puranas; Saiva Philosophy in some of the important texts.

India and the Commonwealth. Part I: *Political and Strategic*, by K. P. Karunakaran. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1954. 15 pages. Distributed by the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 25¢.

India and the Commonwealth. Part II: *Economic*, by B. N. Ganguli. New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, 1954. 22 pages. Distributed by the Institute of Pacific Relations, New York. 30¢.

India and Malaya, by Nedyam Raghavan. Bombay: Orient Longmans for the Indian Council of World Affairs, 1954. 137 pages. Rs. 2/12. One of the India and Her Neighbors series, this book traces contacts between the two countries from earliest times, emphasizing recent Indian influences in Malaya.

India at a Glance, ed. by G. D. Binani and T. V. Rama Rao. Calcutta: Orient Longmans, 1954. 1,756 pages. Rs. 40. Features a detailed survey of the machinery of government, with sections on the constitution, the political parties, and the states, and a "Who's Who in Parliament." Also has sections on industry, education, the press, the judiciary, religion, tourism, sports, and the arts.

Indian Federal Finance. New York: Longmans, 1955. 318 pages. \$4.00. A revised edition, "brought up to date to take account of the great changes in India's political and economic position since 1939. The title of the first edition was *Indian Provincial Finance, 1919-1939*."

Indian Painting and the British, 1770-1880, by Mildred and W. G. Archer. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. 160 pages, 50 halftones.

\$4.00. "This is the first study of British influence upon painting in India and the Indian-British painting that developed to fill the needs of British residents."

The Indian Press and its Future, by K. D. Umrigar. Bombay: New Books Co., 1954. 148 pages. Rs. 3/8.

India's Foreign Trade, by R. L. Varshney. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1954. 340 pages. Rs. 7/8.

Industrial Peace and Labour in India, by K. N. Srivastava. Allahabad: Kitab Mahal, 1954. 499 pages. Rs. 7/8.

One Man's India, by Arthur Stratton. New York: W. W. Norton, 1955. 282 pages. \$4.00. A visitor's description of the many-faceted life of Indians, ranging from social customs to architecture.

Progress of the Plan: A Short Survey of the Working of the Five-Year Plan from April 1951 to September 1953. New Delhi: Planning Commission, 1954. 137 pages. R. 1.

Public Finance: Its Theory and Working in India, by R. N. Bhargava. Allahabad: Chaitanya Publishing House, 1954. 672 pages. Rs. 12/8. A textbook on Indian federal finance.

Reformers in India, 1793-1833, by Kenneth Ingham. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1955. 168 pages. \$3.50. The contributions of Christian missions in India during this period.

Textile Industry in South India. Madras: Dalal and Co., 1954. 191 pages. Rs. 5.

Iran

Daybreak in Iran: A Story of the German Intelligence Service, by Bernhardt Schulze-Holthus. Trans. from the German by Mervyn Savill. London: Staples Press, 1954. 319 pages. 15s. An English translation of *Frührot in Iran*, an account of German undercover activity in Iran during World War II.

Islamic Society in Persia, by Ann K. S. Lambton. London: Oxford University Press, 1954. 32 pages. 2s. 6d. Professor Lambton's inaugural lecture, in which she deals with Iranian social organization and the conflict between traditional patterns and the developing modern Iranian state.

Liste des Hommes de Science de l'Iran. Cairo: UNESCO Middle East Science Cooperation Office, 1955. 81 pages. No price indicated. Brief biographical sketches of Iranians in the fields of mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, biology, botany, medicine, engineering, agricultural sciences, and geography.

Persian Beliefs and Customs, by Henri Massé. Trans. from the French by Charles A. Messner. New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1954. 516 pages; bibliography to 526. \$4.75.

Israel

Sound the Great Trumpet, ed. by M. Z. Frank. New York: Whittier, 1955. 399 pages; biographical notes to 415. \$5.00. Some 40 selected stories of the everyday lives of those connected with the

founding of Israel, from 1870 to date, all tied into a continuous narrative by the comments of the editor.

North Africa

- The African Awakening*, by Basil Davidson. New York: Macmillan, 1955. 262 pages. \$2.50.
Blue Veils, Red Tents, by René Gardi. Trans. from the French by Edward Fitzgerald. New York: Roy, 1955. 239 pages. \$5.00. An account of a journey across the Sahara.
North African Journey, by Bernard Newman. London: Robert Hale, 1955. 252 pages, photos. 18s. Recent travels among the peoples of Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco.

Pakistan

- Bibliography of Iqbal*, by A. R. Ghani and Khwaja Nur Ilahi. Lahore: Bazm-i-Iqbal, n.d. 16 pages. R. 1.
Horned Moon, by Ian Stephens. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1955. 268 pages; appendices, index, photos. \$5.00. An American edition of a book of travel on Pakistan, parts of Kashmir, and Afghanistan. Written by the former editor of *The Statesman of India*.
South-East Asia Between Two Worlds, by Tibor Mende. New York: Library Publishers, 1955. 331 pages. \$3.95. Included is a long section on Pakistan including general travel impressions, material about some of its leaders, historical flashbacks, and the current work of the government.

Linguistics

- Arabic-English Dictionary*, by Edward W. Lane. Obtainable from W. Heffer & Sons, 3-4 Petty Cury, Cambridge, England. 8 vols. £75. A facsimile reprint of this classic dictionary. The first two volumes appeared in July and the remaining volumes will be issued, two at a time, at intervals of about three months.
Guide to English-Urdu Dictionaries, by A. R. Ghani and Abu Lai Siddiqi. Lahore: University Press, 1955. 23 pages. No price indicated.
Persisch. I. Leitfaden der Umgangssprache, by Walter Hinz. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1955. ix+278 pages. DM 16. 2nd edition of a book first published in 1942.
The Writing System of Modern Persian, by Herbert H. Paper and Mohammad Ali Jazayeri. Washington: American Council of Learned Societies, 1955. 30 pages. \$1.50. Chapters on printed,

typewritten, and handwritten Persian, as well as punctuation and combinations of words.

Religion, Philosophy, Archaeology

- Marxism or Islam?*, by Mazharuddin Siddiqi. Lahore: Orientalia, 1954. 168 pages. Rs. 7/8. An examination of Marxist philosophy from the Islamic point of view.
Mohammedanism, by Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb. New York: New American Library, 1955. 159 pages. 35¢. A 2nd edition of this popular work, first published in 1949.
The Scrolls from the Dead Sea, by Edmund Wilson. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. 144 pages. \$3.25. An account of the recent discovery of ancient scrolls in the Holy Land, together with a discussion of their significance to an understanding of the Old Testament and the origins of Christianity.
Semblanza de Avicena, by Juan L. Fernandez-Llebrez. Tetuan: Imprenta del Majzen, 1955. 20 pages. No price indicated.

FORTHCOMING BOOKS

- Crusading Warfare (1097-1193): A Contribution to Modern Medieval History*, by R. C. Small. New York: Cambridge University Press. A military and social examination of Muslim and Christian armies and warriors during the Crusades.
Golden Interlude, by Janted Dunbar. London: John Murray. An account of a 6-year visit, 1836-42, which the Eden sisters paid to their brother, Lord Auckland, the Governor-General of India.
Letter to Mr. Nehru, by Lillian Smith. New York: Harcourt, Brace. The author's experiences during a recent visit to India.
Muhammad at Medina, by W. Montgomery Watt. New York: Oxford University Press. The second volume of this life of the Prophet emphasizes the political and social aspects of his later years.
North African Powder Keg, by Edmund Stevens. New York: Coward-McCann. The *Christian Science Monitor's* Rome correspondent covers the current crisis in French North Africa.
Pharaoh to Farouk, by H. Wood Jarvis. London: John Murray. A survey of Egyptian history over 5,000 years.
The Prince and I, by Marvine Howe. New York: John Day. A book on the lighter side of Moroccan life.
Wingate of the Sudan, by Sir Ronald Wingate. London: John Murray. A biography of Sir Reginald Wingate.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

Prepared by Sidney Glazer, Consultant in Near East Bibliography, Library of Congress.

With contributions from: Elizabeth Bacon, Ernest Dawn, Richard Ettinghausen, Charles A. Ferguson, Harvey P. Hall, Sidney Glazer, Louis A. Leopold, Bernard Lewis, M. Perlmann, C. Rabin, Andreas Tietze.

Note: It is the aim of the Bibliography to present a selective and annotated listing of periodical material dealing with the Middle East since the rise of Islam. In order to avoid unwarranted duplication of bibliographies already dealing with certain aspects and portions of the area, the material included will cover only North Africa and Muslim Spain, the Arab world, Ethiopia and Eritrea, Turkey, the Transcaucasian states of the Soviet Union, Iran, Afghanistan, and Turkestan. An attempt is made to survey all periodicals of importance in these fields. The ancient Near East and Byzantium are excluded; so also Zionism, Palestine, and Israel in view of the current, cumulative bibliography on this field: *Palestine and Zionism*, a publication of the Zionist Archives and Library, New York.

It would be appreciated if authors of articles appropriate to the Bibliography would send reprints or notices of such articles to: Bibliography Editor, The Middle East Journal, 1761 N Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

For list of abbreviations, see page 485. For list of periodicals reviewed, see page 481.

GEOGRAPHY

(General, description, travel and exploration, natural history, geology)

- 8082 BUTCHER, GEORGE. "Afghanistan: cross-roads or watershed?" *al-Kulliyah* 30 (Je '55) 5-11. A photo report.
- 8083 GODDARD, JOHN M. "Kayaks down the Nile." *Natl. Geog. Mag.* 107 (My '55) 692-732. Description of a trip from the southernmost source of the Nile to the sea.
- 8084 HELBURN, NICHOLAS. "A stereotype of agriculture in semiarid Turkey." *Geog. Rev.* 45 (Jl '55) 375-84. Helburn believes that "agriculture in semiarid central Turkey is so uniform that it can be described by means of . . . a composite or typical village." Using Whittlesey's five "functioning forms" he classifies central Anatolian agriculture and then concludes that the area is one of subsistence crop and stock farming.
- 8085 MELAMID, ALEXANDER. "The economic geography of neutral territories." *Geog. Rev.* 45 (Jl '55) 359-74. This study includes the Saudi Arabia-Kuwait neutral zone, Buraimi, el Auja, Israel-Jordan zone, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Tangier, and Melilla.
- 8086 WIRTH, EUGEN. "Landschaft und mensch im binnendelta des unteren Tigris." (with English summary) *Mitteilungen der Geog. Gesellschaft in Hamburg* 52 (1955) 1-70. A short

monograph presenting, on the basis of courageous first-hand experience, a regional geographic survey of the almost totally unknown marshes of the lower Tigris River, whose water has exercised a profound effect on every aspect of human life, not to mention the local flora and fauna. Some excellent illustrations.

- 8087 YUSUF, S. M. "Al-Ranaj: Arab navigation in the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.H." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (Ap '55) 77-103. Useful geographical details and identifications in S.E. Asia.

HISTORY

(Ancient, medieval)

- 8088 BAYHAM, MUHAMMAD JAMİL. "An obscure page in the history of Beirut." (in Arabic) *al-Adib* 14 (My '55) 11-3. Etymology of the names of several quarters of Beirut.
- 8089 BINDER, LEONARD. "Al-Ghazālī's theory of Islamic government." *Muslim World* 45 (Jl '55) 229-40. Al-Ghazālī's ideas were realistic and probably an accurate description of the government of his time. The Caliph, the Sultan, and the 'Ulamā' were the three interrelated sources of political power among the Sunnis.
- 8090 DUNLOP, D. M. "Hafṣ b. Abī al-Aswad— the last of the Goths?" *J.R.A. Soc.* no. 3-4 (1955) 137-51. Translation of an *urjūza* on the Psalm-transla-

tion in an Escorial ms. dated 989 A.D. Dunlop identifies the author as a descendant of the Romulo branch of the former Visigoth royal house and a man known as the "Qadi of the Foreigners."

- 8091 FISCHER, WALTER J. "Ibn Khaldūn and Josippon." *Homenaje a Millás-Fallicrosa, I.* (Barcelona, 1954) 587-98. In the second volume of his monumental history, the "Toynbee of the Arabs" included the biblical and post-biblical history of the Jews. His principal source was an Arabic translation of a medieval work called the *Chronicle of Josippon*. This fact now enables us to determine with more precision the date and place of composition of several sections of Ibn Khaldūn's history than has been hitherto possible.
- 8092 GOITEIN, S. D. "From the Mediterranean to India: documents . . . from the eleventh and twelfth centuries." *Speculum* 29 (Ap '54) 181-96. When fully translated, these documents will vastly enrich our knowledge of Indian, South Arabian, and East African trade, which constituted the economic backbone of the Islamic civilization. A study of the documents shows that medieval society was divided less by religion and nationality than by "the antagonism between the ruling soldieries and the industrious businessmen."
- 8093 GOITEIN, S. D. "What would Jewish and general history benefit by a systematic publication of the documentary Genizah papers." *Proceed. Amer. Acad. for Jewish Res.* 23 (1954) 29-39. Tens of thousands of papers found in a Cairo synagogue represent a precious source of information on international trade and other aspects of medieval life, e.g., political and military events, and the daily life of Jews living in Islamic countries.
- 8094 LANG, D. M. "Georgia in the reign of Georgi the Brilliant (1314-46)." *B.S.O. Afr. Stud.* 17, no. 1 (1955) 74-91. Mainly from Muslim historians. With a discussion of 14th cent. coinage.
- 8095 MINORSKY, V. "The Qara-Qoyunlu and the Qutb-Shahs (Turkmenica 10)." *B.S.O. Afr. Stud.* 17, no. 1 (1955) 50-73. How remnants of the former dynasty (1468) founded the latter in Golconda (1512-1687). Mainly an abridged translation of the relevant portions of the *Tārīkh-i-Qutb Shāhi*.
- 8096 SAMADI, S. B. "Some aspects of the theory of the state and the administration under the Abbasids." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (Ap '55) 120-50. A superficial account based on second-hand sources, but suitable as an introduction to the subject.
- 8097 SPULER, BERTOLD. "Islamische und abendländische geschichtschreibung." *Saeculum* 6, no. 2 (1955) 125-37. Describes certain principles of Islamic historiography as a prerequisite to a fruitful comparison with and possible influence on that of the Christian West.
- 8098 STERN, S. M. "Heterodox Ismā'ilism at the time of al-Mu'izz." *B.S.O. Afr. Stud.* 17, no. 1 (1955) 10-33. Based on unpublished documents, showing that in the 10th cent. A.D. there were

two distinct Ismā'ilī doctrines concerning the *imāmate*.

- 8099 VATIKIOTIS, P. J. "Al-Hakim bi-Amrillah: the God-king idea realised." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (Ja '55) 1-8. An apologia for al-Hākim, defending his policies—including the persecution of Jews and Christians—as attempts "to retain the Fatimid sectarian basis of the State."
- 8100 VON GRUNEBaum, GUSTAVE E. "Die islamische stadt." *Saeculum* 6, no. 2 (1955) 138-53. To the Muslims the city, as this study (neither architectural nor sociological) shows, was the seat of power, religious, commercial, and cultural. The shrinking and decay of the great urban centers was in a sense both the cause and the effect of the decline of the Muslim world.

See also: 8087, 8163, 8201.

HISTORY AND POLITICS

(Modern)

- 8101 ATIYAH, EDWARD. "Up and down the Nile." *al-Kulliyah* 30 (Summer '55) 6-8ff. An evaluation of the current regime in Egypt and the Sudan.
- 8102 BENNIGSEN, A. and CARRÈRE D'ENCAUSSE, H. "Russes et Musulmans en Asie Centrale." *Civilisations* (Brussels) 5, no. 1 (1955) 1-14. Islam is fighting an unequal and losing battle for survival in Central Asia. The essential futility of trying to evoke memories of past glory, the steady progress of the Russian language, and the overwhelming impact of Soviet technology make the obliteration of Islamic culture and religion all but inevitable, as the history of the Volga Tatars shows.
- 8103 CATTAN, HENRY. "Plunder in the Holy Land." *al-Kulliyah* 30 (F '55) 10-2ff. An Arab discusses the problem of determining the value of Arab-owned land abandoned in Palestine.
- 8104 DOWNTON, ERIC. "Soviet Central Asia." *R.C.A.J.* 42 (Ap '55) 128-37. The author was a companion of *New York Times* correspondent Harrison Salisbury on their trip through the area last year, the first time in 20 years that non-Communist newspapermen were permitted to travel there. He was impressed by unmistakable signs of vast economic development which greatly affect the non-Soviet neighbors and will contribute to an eventual upsurge of Asiatic power. He was depressed by the colorlessness of everything due to near obliteration of historical landmarks, the bleakness of countryside and town, and Moscow-imposed standardization in all phases of life, including culture.
- 8105 ELLIS, ELLEN D. "Turkey: 1955." *Current Hist.* 29 (Ag '55) 90-6. A discussion of the present position of Turkey in relation to strategic interests in the Mediterranean, crediting it with an important service in bridging the gap between the West and Asia.
- 8106 ERELI, ELIEZER. "The Bat Galim case

before the Security Council." *Mid. East. Aff.* 6 (Ap '55) 108-17. This case of an Israeli ship seized by the Egyptians was brought before the Security Council in September 1954. It involves "the freedom of internationalized waters, the validity of the General Armistice Agreement between Egypt and Israel, and compliance with the Security Council's resolutions.

8107 FAKHRY, RASHED F. "Namecalling and beyond." *al-Kulliyah* 30 (Mr '55) 10-11ff. The low opinion which many Americans have of the Arabs is largely a result of the unfavorable press which the Arabs receive. It is up to the Arab governments to correct this situation.

8108 HALL, HARVEY P. "The Arab League states." *Current Hist.* 29 (Ag '55) 97-102. An analysis of the political forces uniting and disrupting the Arab world, together with an estimate of the resulting effect on the relations of the Arab states with the outside world. In general, there is a trend toward political and economic stability which should eventually prove beneficial to the West.

8109 HOURANI, ALBERT. "The Anglo-Egyptian agreement: some causes and implications." *Mid. East J.* 9 (Summer '55) 239-55. Traces the history of the British in Egypt and their impact on Egyptian outlook. Britain's equivocal manipulation of its position of power contributed largely to the failure of what might have been a mutually profitable association.

8110 INALCIK, HALIL. "Land reforms in Turkish history." *Muslim World* 45 (Jl '55) 221-8. For several centuries Ottoman agrarian policy was determined by military considerations. The weakness of the Empire during the 19th century and the impact of Western ideas brought land reform into the forefront of problems with which the successive governments have had to cope until the present day.

8111 JERREHIAN, RITA ADELE. "The Armenian question—an international issue." *Armenian Rev.* 8 (Je '55) 62-72. A good summation of familiar facts, based largely on secondary English language works.

8112 LORD KINROSS. "Turkey today." *Arab World* 23 (Ap '55) 5-12. A prominent Englishman, on the basis of a long trip through the country, found it an "increasingly successful blend of East and West . . . an enchanting and absorbing country to visit."

8113 KIRK, GEORGE. "Hammer, sickle, and crescent." *al-Kulliyah* 29 (N '54) 2-7ff. An examination of Soviet policy in the Middle East: to expel the influence of the West, to replace it by Soviet influence, to sow discord elsewhere.

8114 LEWIS, BERNARD. "Democracy in the Middle East—its state and prospects." *Mid. East. Aff.* 6 (Ap '55) 101-8. Western-style democracy is a disreputable failure owing, among other things, to its having been an imitation of the form of government practiced in Europe and America, which was introduced too rapidly and

with insufficient regard for local requirements. However, it is wholly possible that in time the peoples of the Middle East will succeed in developing a system "more closely related to their own traditions, more expressive of their own aspirations."

8115 LEWIS, WILLIAM H. "Libya: an experiment." *Current Hist.* 29 (Ag '55) 103-9. Discusses political institutions, the "locus of power," economic viability, and Libya's relation to Mediterranean politics, concluding that Libya's only road for the future lies in a continuation of its experiment in modernity.

8116 LONGRIGG, S. H. "Middle-Eastern oil: blessing or curse?" *R.C.A.J.* 42 (Ap '55) 150-64. A curse, most likely. Yet the author feels compelled to conclude, after arguing effectively to the contrary, that he cannot accept such a verdict "because the blessings can be so real, the dangers are in fact avoidable, and if they come are not necessarily irresistible."

8117 NIKITINE, B. "Pamir, borne frontière." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 29, no. 1 (1955) 5-10. Sketch of some of the improvements introduced by the Soviets in order to make life on the rugged "roof of the world" more tolerable. This is frequently contrasted with the misery experienced by neighboring countries as a Communist propaganda theme.

8118 PERLMANN, M. "Bagdad-Gaza-Bandung." *Mid. East. Aff.* 6 (My '55) 141-51. "The needle of the Middle East political seismograph over the last three score and ten days gravitated to a great extent toward Israel." The needle was agitated by the continuing reverberation of the Turkish-Iraqi pact, the Gaza clash, and the Bandung Conference.

8119 PRICE, M. PHILIPS. "Impressions of Egypt and the Sudan." *R.C.A.J.* 42 (Ap '55) 138-49. The well known British journalist and M.P. views the political and economic future of Egypt with considerable optimism. He was impressed by the efficient way in which the land reform law is being carried out.

8120 RONDOT, PIERRE. "Moghreb Levant, Sud-Est Asiatique, Afrique." *L'Afrique et l'Asie* 29, no. 1 (1955) 11-9. Reflections on the French experience in North Africa, the Near East, and the Far East, concluding that France will properly assess its political role only when it grasps the common factors concerning the problems of Asia and Africa. The author acknowledges the pioneering thinking of the noted scholar Robert Montagne along these lines.

8121 ROSSI, ETTORE. "Due articoli di scrittori arabi sulle relazioni del Vicino Oriente arabo con l'Occidente." *O. Mod.* 35 (Mr '55) 97-104. Summarizes two articles, one by Albert Hourani and the other by Burhān al-Dajāni, which appeared in *al-Abhāth*.

8122 RUBINSTEIN, ALVIN Z. "The French Empire, II: in Africa." *Current Hist.* 28 (My '55) 288-93. Discussion of the present crisis in French

Africa, with a brief analysis of the various alternatives open to France.

- 8123 SARAFIAN, VAHE A. "The Soviets and the Armenian church." *Armenian Rev.* 8 (Je '55) 83-107. Since the focal point of Armenian political consciousness is the church, the Soviets and their allies within the Armenian community have made repeated efforts to suborn it and thus gain a valuable weapon. A few churchmen have been corrupted, even fewer have courageously resisted, while the vast majority compromise their conscience by indecision. The ordinary Armenians, however, seem to grasp more clearly the danger implicit in a Soviet victory and are thus displaying more fortitude in defending the national church.

- 8124 SFEIR, GEORGE N. "Islam as the state religion: a secularist point of view in Syria." *Muslim World* 45 (Jl '55) 242-9. A strong attack, based on nationalist philosophy, on the proponents of political Islam. The deep crisis through which Syria is now passing derives in large part, says the author, from the stubborn persistence of theocratic concepts of life and history. (Rebuttal of views expressed in #7633).

- 8125 SKRINE, CLARMONT. "New trends in Iran." *R.C.A.J.* 42 (Ap '55) 100-15. Despite a conclusion embodying the author's expression of optimism regarding political stability and material progress, the article would seem to have been inaccurately titled, for very little evidence is cited to indicate that the familiar old trends have changed. The extension and improvement of roads and air lines, Point IV activities, new Tehran water supply system, and the modest (but still unimitated) royal land giveaway program, although highly welcome, nevertheless constitute little more than a scratching of the surface of what remains to be done if the "aristocrats of Iran" are not to hear ever more loudly "the rumbling of the tumbrils."

- 8126 TERTERIAN, HAMBARDZOOM. "The Levon Chanth mission to Moscow, I." *Armenian Rev.* 8 (Je '55) 3-22. Interesting details concerning an early example of Soviet diplomatic duplicity. The newly founded post-World War I Armenian republic sent a mission, of which the author was a prominent member, to Moscow for the purpose of negotiating recognition of Armenian independence and enlisting support vis à vis its neighbors.

- 8127 WHEELER, G. E. "Soviet policy in Central Asia." *Internat. Aff.* 31 (Jl '55) 317-26. A lucid analysis of Soviet source material showing that Soviet policy aims primarily at increasing the economic strength of a rich and comparatively remote area and, secondarily, at using Central Asia as a base from which to extend communist influence into the Middle East and South Asia.

See also: 8129, 8157, 8159, 8192, 8204.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

(General, finance, commerce, agriculture, natural resources, labor, transportation and communications)

- 8128 "Light on the Litani." *al-Kulliyah* 29 (D '54) 5-12. A detailed description, with charts and map, of Lebanon's Litani project.

- 8129 "Oil and social change in the Middle East." *Economist* (London) 176 (Jl 2 '55) 16-page insert. Discusses the manner in which oil revenues are being spent and the impact, social and economic, made by the oil industry. "The sudden birth of a rebellious middle class in hitherto feudal lands promises complications as great as those set up by the more gradual growth of the bourgeoisie in Iran and Iraq."

- 8130 "Regaining a valley." *al-Kulliyah* 30 (Summer '55) 17-22. Description, with photos and charts, of the Ghab reclamation project in Syria.

- 8131 "Taming the Tigris by '56." *al-Kulliyah* 30 (Mr '55) 5-9. Description, with charts and photos, of the Wadi Tharthar control project.

- 8132 BASTER, JAMES. "Economic problems in the Gaza strip." *Mid. East. J.* 9 (Summer '55) 323-7. Any possibility of making the Strip viable is out of the question; moreover, the proposed resettlement of refugees from the Strip in the Sinai Peninsula could take care of only a small fraction of the total population.

- 8133 BOWMAN, V. V. "Shall Lebanon export only people?" *al-Kulliyah* 30 (Ap '55) 16-7ff. Presents solutions to the problems of exporting fruit, Lebanon's natural major product.

- 8134 BUGEAT, L. "Mise en valeur du Centre de la Tunisie." *I.B.L.A.* 18, no. 1 (1955) 33-52. Discussion of several technical and human aspects of this gravely depressed area of Tunisia, where during the past 25 years there has been a 25% diminution in natural resources (cereals, olive oil, phosphates, iron, and lead).

- 8135 CHAMIEH, SUHAYL. "A path for Syria." *al-Kulliyah* 30 (Summer '55) 24-6. Summary and review of the recommendations embodied in the report of the International Bank.

- 8136 FAIRFIELD, HERBERT H. "Needed: good industrial management." *al-Kulliyah* 30 (My '55) 22-5ff. How to increase the productivity of Lebanese labor, with special reference to the Lebanese Industrial Institute.

- 8137 GINESTOUS, P. "Travaux d'artisans à Gafsa: le harnachement du dromadaire." *I.B.L.A.* 18, no. 1 (1955) 133-52. Concerned essentially with the technical aspects of manufacturing and assembling the various component parts. Illustr.

- 8138 PERSEN, JEAN. "The fellah helps himself." *al-Kulliyah* 30 (Ap '55) 14-5ff. A description of the cooperative movement in Egypt.

- 8139 SCHWOB, MARCEL. "The economic challenge in Afghanistan." *United Nations Rev.* (New York) 2 (Jl '55) 25-7. Plans for charting

and developing mineral and economic resources with the assistance of various U.N. agencies.
See also: 8084, 8085.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS

(General, education, population and ethnology, medicine and health, religion, law)

8140 "Islamic State." *The Islamic Lit.* 7 (Ja '55). The entire issue of the journal is devoted to articles on the fundamental principles, aims, and ideals of an Islamic state, as viewed by Pakistani scholars.

8141 "Those schools in Kuwait." *al-Kulliyah* 30 (F '55) 6-9. Primarily descriptive of the architecture, with photos.

8142 'ABBÂS, IHSÂN. "The problem of death in Islamic thought." (in Arabic) *al-Adib* 14 (My '55) 3-6. Islam taught the idea of life after death. It changed the Jāhiliyah fear of death into that of fear of what follows death.

8143 AFFIFI, A. E. "The story of the Prophet's ascent in Sufi thought and literature." *Islamic Quart.* 2 (Ap '55) 23-7. The theme was turned into many elaborate accounts incorporating extraneous material. Many Sufis had ascensions of their own.

8144 ANDERSON, J. N. D. "The Syrian law of personal status." *B.S.O. Afr. Stud.* 17, no. 1 (1955) 34-49. Chapter-by-chapter analysis of the law of Sept. 17, 1953, in comparison with similar legislation in other Arab countries and with the Shari'ah.

8145 ARBERRY, A. J. "Letter to the editor." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (Ja '55) 76. Reply to M. Valiuddin's review of the author's *Sufism*.

8146 CRAGG, KENNETH, tr. "Pilgrimage prayers." *Muslim World* 45 (Jl '55) 209-80. Complete translation of *Manāsik al-hajj wa-ad'iyyat al-tawāf 'alā al-madhāhib al-arba'ah* (Cairo, 1938), which gives "some access into the inward Muslim meaning of the pilgrimage as it is mirrored in the aspirations of the pilgrim."

8147 DEMEERSEMAN, A. "Un mémoire célèbre qui préfigure l'évolution moderne de l'Islam." *I.B.L.A.* 18, no. 1 (1955) 5-32. Analysis of a memorandum given to the Turkish Sultan Ahmet III (1703-1730) on the value of setting up a printing press in Constantinople. This document sums up many of the ideas that agitated the Muslim intellectuals as a result of contacts with Europe and is thus an excellent source for the study of Islamic social psychology.

8148 DORNIER, P. "La politesse bédouine dans les campagnes du Nord de la Tunisie: le mariage — la semaine des noces." *I.B.L.A.* 18, no. 1 (1955) 93-126. Description of the customs and sayings (in Arabic with French translation) relating to marriage preparations, wedding day, etc.

8149 EFIMENCO, N. MARBURY. "American impact upon Middle East leadership." *Polit. Science Quart.* 69 (Je '54) 202-18. An estimate of the effect of American university training upon the leadership role of the Middle Eastern intellectual elite. The stress is upon the problems created for Middle East societies along with proposals for a more effective training program in American educational institutions.

8150 GULICK, JOHN. "Two streams into one." *al-Kulliyah* 30 (Mr '55) 12-3ff. The current conflict in the mind of the Western-educated Arab may be the basis for an era of great creativeness.

8151 HAMIDULLAH, MUHAMMAD. "Sources of Islamic law — a new approach." *Islamic Quart.* 1 (D '54) 205-11. Claims that in addition to the four acknowledged sources (*uṣūl*), the Islamic lawyers also freely used: (1) international treaties; (2) established local law; (3) reciprocity; (4) administrative orders; (5) the customs of Medina (*Mālikis*); (6) local custom; (7) universal custom, even if wrong (*'umūm al-balaṣwā*).

8152 HIRABAYASHI, GORDON, and SA'ADEH, NABIL. "In their minds and hearts." *al-Kulliyah* 29 (N '54) 12-20. A report on the 4th UN Social Welfare Seminar, Baghdad, March 6-21, 1954.

8153 'ĪSĀ, AḤMAD MUḤAMMAD. "Muslims and *taṣwīr*." *Muslim World* 45 (Jl '55) 250-68. Interesting and persuasive refutation of the familiar notion that portrayal of human beings, animals, etc., is taboo in Islam. There is no support either in the Qur'ān or *ḥadīth* for the prohibition, the justification of which existed only in the minds of the jurists. (This article was originally published in the journal of al-Azhar, here translated by H. W. Glidden.)

8154 KRUSE, HANS. "The Islamic doctrine of international treaties." *Islamic Quart.* 1 (O '54) 152-8. Based on the Hanafi doctrine as expounded by Kāshānī (d. 1191 A.D.) and the commentary of Sarakhsī (d. 1090 A.D.) on Shaybānī (d. 804 A.D.), the article deals with the sources and the outline of the law of "inviolability" of non-Muslims.

8155 LELONG, M. "L'avenir de la culture nationale en Tunisie." *I.B.L.A.* 18, no. 1 (1955) 127-32. Analysis of a questionnaire circulated among Tunisian intellectuals posing the following questions: (1) What are the bases of national culture in Tunisia? (2) Should, in your opinion, French be kept as a language of instruction? (3) How can traditional Arab teaching (such as is given at the great Zaytūnī mosque) be harmonized with modern French methods employed in the lycées and colleges?

8156 PERSEN, WILLIAM. "Wonder hospital in Shiraz." *al-Kulliyah* 29 (N '54) 8-11ff. Describes the work of the Iran Foundation.

8157 PIPES, RICHARD. "Muslims of Soviet Central Asia: trends and prospects, II." *Mid East J.* 9 (Summer '55) 295-308. Continues the discus-

sion (#7902) with treatment of the ethnic identity of Central Asian Muslims (persistent but not openly expressed), and the attitude of the intelligentsia (torn between various loyalties).

- 8158 POSTAJIAN, TORKOM. "The Armenian church — its origin and development." *Armenian Rev.* 8 (Je '55) 23-31. Stresses the distinctive if not unique characteristics which differentiate it from other Christian churches.

- 8159 QUBAIN, FAHIM I. "Social classes and tensions in Bahrain." *Mid. East J.* 9 (Summer '55) 269-80. Despite an efficient administration and economic prosperity, tensions between the social groups in Bahrain, stimulated by a spirit of nationalism and higher education, have created a delicate situation which cannot be ignored. It is symptomatic of what may soon happen elsewhere in the Gulf, especially where oil is having its impact on local economy.

- 8160 SALEM, ELIE. "The Arab crisis and public administration." *al-Kulliyah* 29 (D '54) 14-6ff. "Arab administration is an accumulation of laws and institutions from various sources. It must be replaced by a simple coordinated organization . . . prepared in the light of the most modern principles of public administration."

- 8161 SHARABI, H. B. "The Syrian university." *Mid. East. Aff.* 6 (My '55) 152-6. As the only university in Syria, this institution plays an important part in the cultural and intellectual life of the country. The establishment of a Faculty of Arts in 1946 added a new dimension to its service which hitherto consisted primarily of training doctors, nurses, lawyers, civil servants, and diplomats.

- 8162 SIRAJ ED-DIN, ABU BAKR. "The Islamic and Christian conceptions of the march of time." *Islamic Quart.* 1 (D '54) 229-35. The Islamic view of history is one of steady decline broken by occasional divine interventions, and resulting logically in the rise of Antichrist — when a final divine intervention will produce the messiah.

- 8163 VACCA, VIRGINIA. "Aspetti politici e sociali dei 'sufi' musulmani." *O. Mod.* 35 (Ja '55) 19-38. Based on Egyptian and Yemenite 14th-16th cent. texts.

See also: 8086, 8110, 8123, 8129, 8136, 8138.

SCIENCE

(General, history)

- 8164 KURDIAN, H. "A history of Armenian printing." *Armenian Rev.* 8 (Je '55) 109-15. The earliest printed work in Armenian dates back to 1512, although there is some evidence, here outlined, which points to earlier attempts to use Gutenberg's invention.

- 8165 MILLÁS VALLICROSA, J. M. "Beginnings of science among the Jews in Spain." (Hebrew with English summary) *Tarbiz* 24 (O '54) 48-59. Hasdai ibn Shaprut (ca. 910-70), vizier of the Caliphs of Cordova, was the first to encourage

science. He caused the *Pharmacology* of Dioscorides to be translated into Arabic. In Christian Spain Jews worked as translators from Arabic into Latin during the 10th cent.

ART

(Archaeology, epigraphy, manuscripts and papyri, minor arts, numismatics, painting and music)

- 8166 BEESTON, A. F. L. "Notes on the Mureighan inscription." *B.S.O. Afr. Stud.* 16, no. 2 (1954) 389-92. This South Arabian inscription was published by G. Ryckmans in *Muséon* 66, pp. 278-84.
- 8167 BEESTON, A. F. L. "The 'Ta'lab Lord of Pastures' texts." *B.S.O. Afr. Stud.* 17, no. 1 (1955) 154-6. A new interpretation of a South-Arabian inscription, Gl. 1142, first published by M. Höfner in *Serta Cantabrigiensia*, pp. 29-36.

- 8168 BIVAR, A. D. H. "The inscriptions of Uruzgan." *J.R.A.S.*, no. 3-4 (1954) 111-8. Some Hephthalite inscriptions (one in duplicate) and short inscripts in Arabic script of the Ghaznavid period from rocks 175 miles northwest of Kandahar.

- 8169 BURCKHART, TITUS. "The spirit of Islamic art." *Islamic Quart.* 1 (D '54) 212-9. Explains Islamic art from religious ideas: "every work of art must be treated according to the laws which govern the substance of which it is made." Thus architecture shows "static equilibrium" and arabesque combines logic with the living continuity of rhythm. Illust.

- 8170 GOETZ, H. "The early Oudh school of Mughal painting: two albums in the Baroda museum." *B. Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery* 9 (1952-3, publ. Baroda 1955) 9-24, 10 figs. The Oudh school under Shuja' ad-daula (1754-5) represents the last flowering of the Mughal style — a late, second-hand mannerism, but with a certain richly decorative, romantic, and often sensuous flavor. The illustrations are too small to be of genuine value.

- 8171 LITTMANN, E. "An old Ethiopic inscription from the Berenice Road, with an introduction by David Meredith." *J.R.A.S.*, no. 3-4 (1954) 119-23. A short private inscription (tourist's memento?) by one Abrehā Takla-Aksum, probably Christian and 4th cent. A.D., is unvocalized Ethiopic script.

- 8172 MOSTAFA, MOHAMMED. "Giordes and Koula rugs." *Egypt Travel Mag.* (Cairo) no. 8 (Mr '55) 20-5. Anatolian rugs of the 18th and 19th centuries in the Museum of Islamic Art are briefly described by the Museum's director. Illust.

- 8173 MOSTAFA, MOHAMMED. "Iznik ceramics." *Egypt Travel Mag.* (Cairo) no. 6 (Ja '55) 20-6. Vessels and tiles made in Iznik in the 16th and 17th centuries and representing the high point of Ottoman ceramics. They are in the Cairo Museum of Islamic Art.

- 8174 MOSTAFA, MOHAMMED. "Mameluk metalwork." *Egypt Travel Mag.* no. 7 (F '55)

20-5. Fifteen well chosen illustrations show the various forms of Mamluk metalwork, especially of the 13th and 14th centuries, such as door platings, chandeliers, candlesticks, pen and other boxes, an incense burner and vessels.

8175 MOSTAFA, MOHAMMED. "Monochrome-glazed ceramics." *Egypt Travel Mag.* no. 9 (Ap '55) 20-5. Twelve Persian ceramics of the 12th and 13th centuries are briefly discussed. Several pieces are important and not otherwise published. A green tile is dated 668 A.H. (1270 A.D.) Well illustrated.

8176 NEAME, ALAN. "Art in Baghdad." *al-Kulliyah* 30 (My '55) 14-8. Criticism of the current scene.

8177 PAGE, ROBERT. "Structures and life." *al-Kulliyah* 30 (Je '55) 13-7. The need for attention to architectural design, with illustrations from Lebanon.

8178 PETRASCH, ERNST. "Ferdinand Kellers Türkenlouis—gemälde in der Karlsruher kunsthalle." *Z. für die Geschichte des Oberrheins* (Karlsruhe) 102 (1954) 1-20. Deals with a monumental painting of the victory of the Markgrave Ludwig Wilhelm of Baden, commander of the Imperial German armies, over the Turkish army of Mustafa Köprülü at Salankamen in 1691, completed in 1879 when many Turkish trophies in the Karlsruhe Museum were faithfully incorporated. With 8 figures, including 4 of Turkish army equipment.

8179 ROBINSON, B. W. "The John Rylands Layla wa Majnūn and the Bodleian Nawā'i of 1485: a royal Timurid manuscript." *B. of the John Rylands Library* 37 (S '54) 263-70. Discussion of the John Rylands manuscript, recently discovered by the author, and an analysis of its 2 miniatures and of the 11 miniatures from the four other volumes of this Nawā'i set written for the Timurid Prince Badī' al-Zamān in 890 A.H. and now in Oxford. The 13 miniatures are attributed to four different painters.

See also: 8094, 8141, 8189.

LANGUAGE

8180 'ABDEL MEGUID, 'ABDEL 'AZIZ. "A survey of the terms used in Arabic for 'narrative' and 'story'." *Islamic Quart.* 1 (D '54) 195-204. A well-documented effort to establish the exact meaning of the terms.

8181 GAL, LADISLAS. "Whither Arabic?" *Islamic Cult.* 29 (Ja '55) 32-53. Chatty description, with many examples, of the rise of colloquial Arabic and some present-day colloquials.

8182 HENNING, W. B. "The ancient language of Azerbaijan." *Trans. Philol. Soc.* (1954) 157-77. In searching for information on the pre-Turkish Iranian dialect of Azerbaijan, Henning gives interesting details of various extant dialects on the borders of that region. These all turn out to be importations from elsewhere, and thus throw no light on Azerbaijan.

8183 MUNDY, C. S. "Ad B.S.O. Afr. Stud. XVI 298-319, 'The e/ū gerund in old Ottoman.'" *B.S.O. Afr. Stud.* 17, no. 1 (1955) 156-9. Additional remarks to #7677. Some cases believed to be gerunds are better explained as other forms. See also: 8088, 8148.

LITERATURE

8184 ABDEL KADER, ALI. "The doctrine of al-Junayd." *Islamic Quart.* 1 (O '54) 167-77. Later accounts of al-Junayd's views checked from his *Rasā'il*. This article deals with "unification" of *ifrād al-Qadīm*, "concentration upon the Absolute," and *mithāq*.

8185 ABDEL KADER, ALI. "Al-Junayd's theory of *fanā'*." *Islamic Quart.* 1 (D '54) 219-28. In addition, deals with *sahw*, "sobriety" or the continuation of life within society after mystical experience.

8186 ARBERRY, A. J. "An Arabic treatise on politics." *Islamic Quart.* 2 (Ap '55) 9-22. Details of *K. as-sa'āda wal-is'ād* by Abū al-Ḥasan b. Abī Dharr, who may have been a Persian and a contemporary of Alfarabi. He used an epitome of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* translated by the same hand as the full text discovered recently by Arberry.

8187 ARBERRY, A. J. "The Nicomachean Ethics in Arabic." *B.S.O. Afr. Stud.* 17, no. 1 (1955) 1-9. Account of the discovery of an ms. of the second half of an Arabic translation, copied 1232 A.D. A specimen (IX,1) in Greek, Arabic, and English, with notes and an Arabic-Greek glossary.

8188 BERCHER, L., ed. "L'obligation d'ordonner le bien et d'interdire le mal selon al-Ghazālī." *I.B.L.A.* 18, no. 1 (1955) 53-91. Extract from the *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. This chapter represents an important stage in the development of religious thought in Islam. With many phases reflecting psychological insight combined with the faith of the believer, "each one should consult with his heart, balancing the advantages and disadvantages and deciding in accordance with religion, not on the basis of his passion or character."

8189 CERULLI, ENRICO. "Une nuova collezione di manoscritti persani della Biblioteca Vaticana." *Accad. Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche*, Serie VIII, vol. IX (Rome, 1954) fasc. 11-12, 507-15. Survey of a collection of 838 manuscripts of *ta'ziye* plays of various types collected by the author from 1950 to 1954.

8190 GHORABA, HAMMOUDA. "Al-Ash'ari's *K. al-luma'*." *Islamic Quart.* 1 (D '54) 191-4. A comparison between al-Ash'ari's youthful work *al-Ibānah* and the *Luma'*. Includes an account of the mss. that served Ghoraba for his edition (Cairo).

8191 GHORABA, HAMMOUDA. "Al-Ash'ari's method." *Islamic Quart.* 1 (O '54) 140-3. Al-Ash'ari himself steered a middle course between absolute traditionalism and rationalism, permit-

ting the discussion of problems on which no pronouncement from the Prophet is known.

- 8192 GHORABA, HAMMOUDA. "Al-Ash'ari's theory of acquisition (*al-kasb*)." *Islamic Quart.* 2 (Ap '55) 3-8. Exposition of the philosopher's doctrine concerning free will, difficult to understand because the terminology is translated from Arabic.
- 8193 HAIM, SYLVIA G. "Blunt and al-Kawākibi." *O. Mod.* 35 (Mr '55) 132-43. Concludes that al-Kawākibi's theory of an Arab caliphate was largely borrowed from the writings of the English explorer.
- 8194 KHALIL, KHALIL JIRJIS. "Ibrāhīm al-Dabbāsh, poet of Palestine." (in Arabic) *al-Adīb* 14 (Ap '55) 15-6. An appreciative note on this nationalist poet (d. 1946), who spent 30 years in Egypt.
- 8195 LORIMER, D. L. R. "The popular verse of the Bakhtiāri of S.W. Persia, II: specimens of Bakhtiāri verse." *B.S.O. Afr. Stud.* 17 no. 1 (1955) 92-110. See #7689. Under the headings: historical, laments, love, satirical, miscellaneous, each with translation and notes based on explanations supplied by the original informants.
- 8196 MASKŪNĪ, YŪSUF YA'QŪB. "The poet Tāmīr al-Malāt." (in Arabic) *al-Adīb* 14 (Ap '55) 46-7. Al-Malāt was a noted 19th cent. Lebanese lyric poet.
- 8197 AL-MAS'ŪMĪ, M. SAGHIR HASAN. "Al-Kindi as a thinker." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (Ja '55) 54-73. Short exposition of the philosopher's metaphysical views, with an attempt to estimate the Aristotelian, Platonic, and original elements in his philosophy.
- 8198 MINORSKY, V. "Addenda to the article 'Jihān-shāh and his poetry.'" *B.S.O. Afr. Stud.* 17, no. 1 (1955) 73.
- 8199 PLESSNER, M. "Analecta to Hunain b. Ishāq's 'Apothegms of the Philosophers' and its Hebrew translation." (in Hebrew, with English summary) *Tarbiz* 24 (O '54) 60-75. Various information likely to benefit a future editor of the Arabic text: mss., sources, quotations.
- 8200 PRAKASH, BUDDHA. "Ibn Khaldun's philosophy of history, II." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (Ap '55) 104-19. Stages . . . in the life of an empire; China under the Yuan and Persia under Hulagu as illustrations of Ibn Khaldūn's thesis.
- 8201 RIZZITANO, UMBERTO. "Lo scrittore egiziano Ahmad Amin (1 ottobre 1886 — 30 maggio 1954)." *O. Mod.* 35 (F '55) 76-89. Discusses the life and works, especially the historical writings, of the Egyptian writer. The discussion of *Ya'um al-Islām* as indicating Amin's attitude toward the West and Westernization is especially interesting.
- 8202 TIBAWI, A. L. "Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā' and their *rasā'il*." *Islamic Quart.* 2 (Ap '55) 28-46. Critical review of recent studies, together with outline of problems for future inquiry.
- 8203 VATIKIOTIS, P. J., tr. "The People of the Cave [of Tawfiq al-Hakim]." *The Islamic Lit.*

7 (Mr '55) 191-212. A fairly fluent translation of the first act of this famous play, which was adapted from a Qur'ānic theme in order to arouse a deeper interest in ancient Egyptian culture on behalf of modern nationalism.

See also: 8089.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 8204 AKHTAR, QAZI AHMAD MIAN. "Islamic culture through western eyes." *The Islamic Lit.* 7 (Mr '55) 169-72. A generous appreciation of the work of the famous Arabist Ignaz Goldziher.
- 8205 VAN LEEUWEN, A. "Index des revues tunisiennes parues dans la Régence de 1868 à 1954." *I.B.L.A.* 18, no. 1 (1955) 153-67. A listing of Arabic and French periodicals, many of them ephemeral, which contain materials of interest for the history of Tunisian thought during the past century.

BIOGRAPHY

- 8206 FAHMĪ, MANŞŪR. "Muṣṭafā al-Shihābi in the Arab Academy." (in Arabic) *al-Adīb* 14 (Ap '55) 20-4. Warm and well-merited tribute to this outstanding Syrian diplomat-politician-scholar. He is held in high esteem by scholars for his philological works, particularly those on agriculture, e.g., the lexicon *Mu'jam al-alfāz al-zirā'iyyah*. The article also includes remarks on Muhammad Kurd 'Alī.
- 8207 KHAN, M. 'ABDUL MU'ID. "Allāma Ahmad Amin, in memoriam." *Islamic Cult.* 29 (Ja '55) ii. Historian, principal of Fu'ad University, and Egyptian Director of Public Instruction (1878-1954).
- 8208 AL-MASUMI, M. SAGHIR HASAN. "Professor Ahmad Amin." *The Islamic Lit.* 7 (Ap '55) 253-8.

BOOK REVIEWS

- 8209 *Curso de conferencias sobre la política africana de los reyes católicos*. O. Mod. 35 (F '55) 95-6. (Salvatore Bono). A series of studies of the African policy of Ferdinand and Isabella.
- 8210 *The Middle East 1955*, 4th ed. Internat. Aff. 31 (Jl '55) 389-90. (S. H. Longrigg); O. Mod. 35 (F '55) 93-4. (Enzo Jemma).
- 8211 *Middle East economic papers, 1954*. al-Kullīyah 30 (F '55) 23-4. (Norman N. Lewis); Mid. East. Aff. 6 (My '55) 170-1. (Oded Remba). Nine articles written by persons in Arab academic and governmental fields. They represent "a generally effective application of Western economic methods to Middle East materials, but more importantly, they reflect the trends of current economic thinking in the Arab East."
- 8212 *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Historical Studies of Cairo, I and II*. B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 183. (B. Lewis).
- 8213 *La pubblicazione delle fonti del medioevo*

- Europeo negli ultimi 70 anni (1883-1953)*. O. Mod. 35 (Ja '55) 48. (Ettore Rossi). Contents include *Pubblicazione relative alle fonti della storia bizantina* and *Les traductions des philosophes Arabes*.
- 8214 *Security and the Middle East*. Muslim World 45 (Jl '55) 292-3. (Alford Carleton). "A skillful political pamphlet, based entirely on . . . Israeli premises."
- 8215 ABDULLAH, KING. *My memoirs completed* (trans. by Harold W. Glidden). al-Kulliyah 30 (Je '55) 28. (Mahmoud Zayid).
- 8216 'ABDUL-WAHHĀB, H. H., ed. *Al-Djumāna; étude dialectologique sur les parlers de Grenade et de Tunis au XIX^e siècle*. Islamic Quart. 1 (D '54) 238-9. (J. W. Fück). The editor supplies in footnotes information about the areas where the vulgarisms described by the author were used.
- 8217 AGA KHAN. *Memoirs*. Islamic Quart. 2 (Ap '55) 68-71. (A. L. Tibawi). The reviewer also discusses the Aga Khan's political activities.
- 8218 AHMAD, AFTAB-UDDIN, tr. *Futuh-al-ghaib, or Revelations of the Unseen* [of Hazrat Shaykh Muhyuddin Abdul Qadir Gilani]. Islamic Cult. 29 (Ja '55) 74-5. (S. Vahiduddin). "The translation is generally apt, but as is to be expected, it does not always make easy reading . . . an introduction which explains the Sufi background and elucidates the technical terms."
- 8219 AHMAD, MAHMUD. *Economics of Islam*, 2nd ed. Islamic Quart. 2 (Ap '55) 70-3. (Abu Bakr Siraj ed-Din). Criticizes the author's assumption that the political renaissance of the Arab countries is a rebirth of Islam. "The traditional conception of *al-ummah* 'l-muhammadiyah is being stifled by that of *al-waṭan* . . . a 'renaissance' of genuinely Western make."
- 8220 ALDINGTON, RICHARD. *Lawrence of Arabia*. Arab World 23 (Ap '55) 29-30. (S. H. Longrigg). The author has "not only a genuine desire to discover the facts, but also a regrettable venom against his subject."
- 8221 AMMAR, HAMED. *Growing up in an Egyptian village*. Mid. East Aff. 6 (Jl '55) 18-9. (Morroe Berger). "Illuminates many aspects of Egyptian, Arab and Muslim society."
- 8222 P. ANGELICA DA SMIRNE. *Nuovo dizionario turco-italiano*. O. Mod. 35 (F '55) 95. (Ettore Rossi). The good points of this useful dictionary are abundance of words and phrases, accuracy in printing, exactness of translation, and the excellence of the examples. Many of the etymologies are incorrect, many of the phrases superfluous.
- 8223 ASAD, MUHAMMAD. *The road to Mecca*. al-Kulliyah 30 (Je '55) 25-6. (Desmond Stewart); R.C.A.J. 42 (Ap '55) 199.
- 8224 BARRAT, ROBERT. *Justice pour le Maroc*. Islamic Quart. 2 (Ap '55) 66-7. (Mary Klopfer).
- 8225 BASSET, ANDRÉ. *La langue berbère*. Afr. Stud. 14, no. 2 (1955) 91-2. "Rather for the beginning or even for the already somewhat advanced specialist in Berber linguistics than for the layman."
- 8226 BEATTY, CHARLES. *His country was the world: a study of Gordon of Khartoum*. Mid. East J. 9 (Summer '55) 331-2. (M. F. Shukry). "He has devoted most of his excellent efforts to explaining and retelling the story of Chinese Gordon and did not go deeply into the Sudan phase."
- 8227 BELL, R. *Introduction to the Qur'an*. Islamic Quart. 1 (D '54) 239-43. (M. Hamidullah). Takes Bell to task for numerous "errors."
- 8228 BLANCH, LESLIE. *The wilder shores of love*. al-Kulliyah 30 (Ap '55) 21-3. (Rosiland Sayers Mazzawi).
- 8229 BURCKHARDT, TITUS, tr. *De l'homme universel* [of 'Abd al-Karim al-Jili]. Islamic Quart. 1 (O '54) 188-9. (Abu Bakr Siraj Ed Din). The book consists of translated and commented extracts from *al-Insān al-kāmil*, "with a masterly introduction." While Nicholson, in his *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, dealt mainly with the latter part of Jili's book, Burckhardt's selection concentrates on the earlier part.
- 8230 CAILLÉ, L. *La ville de Rabat jusqu'au protectorat français*. B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 186. (D. S. Rice).
- 8231 CAMPBELL, C. G. *Told in the market place*. Muslim World 45 (Jl '55) 281-2. (R. Bayly Winder). This collection of Arab folk tales "will particularly edify students of folklore, cultural anthropology and general manners and customs."
- 8232 CORBIN, HENRI. *Avicenne et le récit visionnaire*. J.R.A.S., no. 1-2 (1955) 98-9. (G. M. Wickens). Corbin is "conscious of the vast cumulative unwritten tradition."
- 8233 CORBIN, H. and MO'IN, MUHAMMAD, ed. *Nasir-e-Khosrow, Kitāb-e-jāmi' al-hikmatain*. J.R.A.S., no. 3-4 (1954) 196. (J. A. Boyle).
- 8234 CORBIN, HENRI, ed. *Oeuvres philosophiques et mystiques de . . . Sohrawardi*. Muslim World 45 (Jl '55) 289-91. (Mehmed A. Simsar).
- 8235 CRESSWELL, K. A. C. *A bibliography of painting in Islam*. R.C.A.J. 24 (Ap '55) 196. (R. H. Pinder-Wilson).
- 8236 DUNLOP, D. M. *The history of the Jewish Khazars*. Muslim World 45 (Jl '55) 287-9. (Halil Inalcik). "Deals with admittedly one of the most remarkable periods of the long history of the Turkic people on the Euroasian steppe. . . . The Khazar state played an important part as a great power in Eastern Europe between the 7th and 9th centuries."
- 8237 EDDY, WILLIAM A. *F.D.R. meets Ibn Saud*. Jewish Soc. Stud. 17 (Ap '55) 155-7. (Moshe Perlmann). "Interesting mostly as a testimony of the attitudes, moods and outlook of some official Washington experts on the Near East."
- 8238 ELWELL-SUTTON, L. P. *A guide to Iranian area study*. Internat. Aff. 31 (Jl '55) 393. (A. K. S. Lambton). "On the whole it is super-

- ficial and often fails to bring out the salient features of Persian development."
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- 8241 EQBĀL, 'ABBĀS. *Makātib-e fārsi-ye gawzālī bā-nāme-e "Fadā'il al-anām min rasā'il Huḡḡat al-Islām"*. O. Mod. 35 (Ja '55) 47-8. (Ettore Rossi).
- 8242 ERDMANN, KURT. *Arabische schriftzeichen als ornamente in der abendländischen kunst des mittellalters*. O. Mod. 35 (Mr '55) 148. (Ettore Rossi).
- 8243 FARUQI, R. A., ed. *Safihāt an-najāt* [of Nawāb Ghulām Ghauth Khān Bahādūr]. Islamic Cult. 29 (Ap '55) 152-3. (Abdur Rahman Khan). With full index of the chapters of the work, which is a handbook of navigation.
- 8244 FORD, ALAN W. *The Anglo-Iranian oil dispute of 1951-1952*. Amer. Polit. Science Rev. 49 (Je '55) 581. (Charles D. Hounshell).
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- 1274 MARIN, ELMA, tr. *At-Tabari's reign of al-Mu'tasim.* B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 184. (B. Lewis). "Even where one doubts her [the translator's] accuracy one must applaud her courage."
- 1275 MASSIGNON, LOUIS. *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane.* J.R.A.S., no. 1-2 (1955) 99-100. (A. J. Arberry).
- 1276 MAYER, L. A. and PINKERFELD, J. *Some principal Muslim religious buildings in Israel.* B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 186-7. (D. S. Rice). "A useful contribution to a future corpus of Islamic architecture."
- 1277 MCCARTHY, R. J. *The theology of al-Ash'ari.* J.R.A.S., no. 3-4 (1954) 197. (A. S. Tritton).
- 1278 MEIER, FRITZ, ed. *Westöstliche abhandlungen, Rudolf Tschudi zum siebzigsten geburtstag überreicht von freunden und schülern.* O. Mod. 35 (Ja '55) 44-5.
- 1279 MILES, GEORGE C. *Early Arabic glass weights and stamps, and supplement.* B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 171-2. (D. S. Rice). The reviewer includes a description of another specimen from his own collection dated 779 A.D.
- 1280 MILES, GEORGE C. *Fatimid coins in the collections of the University Museum, Philadelphia, and the American Numismatic Society.* B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 185. (D. S. Rice).
- 1281 MINORSKY, V. *Studies in Caucasian history.* B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 187-8. (H. A. R. Gibb).
- 1282 MORRISON, S. A. *Middle East survey.* al-Kulliyah 30 (Ja '55) 22-3. (George Kirk).
- 1283 MOSCATI, SABATINO. *Oriente in nuova luce.* O. Mod. 35 (Ja '55) 45. (Ettore Rossi). Contains chapters on the transition from the Umayyad to the Abbasid dynasty.
- 1284 NEGUIB, MOHAMMED. *Egypt's destiny.* Arab World 23 (Ap '55) 30. (S. H. Longrigg).
- Although somewhat biased, inaccurate in part, and characterized by a tendency to self-praise, "other parts of his record—regarding for instance Israel, Arab unity, and Egyptian history—are temperate and informative, and his modern interpretation of Islamic rules of life is interesting"; *Internat. Aff.* 31 (Jl '55) 320. (R. L. Hill). "While this book sensibly avoids political prophecy, it poses an important question—that of the ultimate legitimacy, as distinct from the immediate effectiveness (which is undoubted) of the revolutionary government"; *al-Kulliyah* 30 (My '55) 27-9. (Nabih A. Faris). *Mid. East J.* 9 (Summer '55) 328-9. (John S. Badeau). "The account of the new regime's first year is the fullest yet to be made," but it fails "sufficiently to lay bare the fundamental question upon which the struggle turned."
- 1285 NASSER, GAMAL ABDUL. *Egypt's liberation: the philosophy of the revolution.* Mid. East J. 9 (Summer '55) 328-9. (John S. Badeau). "This dedicated but problem-ridden revolutionary leader" discusses "observations on the *raison d'être* of the coup d'état, the problems of evoking national support for a new program, and the general setting of Egypt's attempt at regeneration."
- 1286 NEWMAN, K. J. *Essays from Pakistan.* Islamic Quart. 2 (Ap '55) 73-6. (I. Z. Abaza). The book "focuses the reader's attention . . . on the content of Islamic political and social thought."
- 1287 PAREJA, FELIX M. *Islamologia.* Muslim World 45 (Jl '55) 282-3. (Werner E. Goldner). "A comprehensive handbook of Islamic studies [that] surpasses in scope and presentation the old reliable reference works of the student of Islam."
- 1288 PEARSON, J. D. *Oriental manuscript collections in the libraries of Great Britain and Ireland.* O. Mod. 35 (Ja '55) 46.
- 1289 PEROWNE, STUART. *The one remains.* Mid. East Aff. 6 (My '55) 169. (James Parkes). "The author wanders through the history of Jerusalem, showing his intimate knowledge of every aspect of the city today, and he describes with deep sympathy and insight the actual lives and feelings of the Arabs."
- 1290 PHILBY, H. ST. JOHN. *Saudi Arabia.* al-Kulliyah 30 (Ap '55) 23ff. (Nabih A. Faris).
- 1291 PHILLIPS, WENDELL. *Qataban and Sheba.* al-Kulliyah 30 (Summer '55) 33-5. (Bruce Condé); *Mid. East J.* 9 (Summer '55) 329. (Fred V. Winnett); R.C.A.J. 42 (Ap '55) 196-7. (G. R. Driver).
- 1292 POPPER, WILLIAM. *The Cairo nilometer.* B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 185. (D. S. Rice).
- 1293 RIGGS, CHARLES T., tr. *Kritivoulos: History of Mehmed the conqueror.* O. Mod. 35 (F '55) 84-5. (Ettore Rossi).
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- 1272 MAKAL, MAHMUT. *A village in Anatolia.* Muslim World 45 (Jl '55) 291-4. (Kerim K. Key).
- 1273 MANN, ANTHONY. *Where God laughed.* Mid. East J. 9 (Summer '55) 330-1. (Kennett Love).
- 1274 MARIN, ELMA, tr. *At-Tabari's reign of al-Mu'tasim.* B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 184. (B. Lewis). "Even where one doubts her [the translator's] accuracy one must applaud her courage."
- 1275 MASSIGNON, LOUIS. *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane.* J.R.A.S., no. 1-2 (1955) 99-100. (A. J. Arberry).
- 1276 MAYER, L. A. and PINKERFELD, J. *Some principal Muslim religious buildings in Israel.* B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 186-7. (D. S. Rice). "A useful contribution to a future corpus of Islamic architecture."
- 1277 MCCARTHY, R. J. *The theology of al-Ash'ari.* J.R.A.S., no. 3-4 (1954) 197. (A. S. Tritton).
- 1278 MEIER, FRITZ, ed. *Westöstliche abhandlungen, Rudolf Tschudi zum siebzigsten geburtstag überreicht von freunden und schülern.* O. Mod. 35 (Ja '55) 44-5.
- 1279 MILES, GEORGE C. *Early Arabic glass weights and stamps, and supplement.* B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 171-2. (D. S. Rice). The reviewer includes a description of another specimen from his own collection dated 779 A.D.
- 1280 MILES, GEORGE C. *Fatimid coins in the collections of the University Museum, Philadelphia, and the American Numismatic Society.* B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 185. (D. S. Rice).
- 1281 MINORSKY, V. *Studies in Caucasian history.* B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 187-8. (H. A. R. Gibb).
- 1282 MORRISON, S. A. *Middle East survey.* al-Kulliyah 30 (Ja '55) 22-3. (George Kirk).
- 1283 MOSCATI, SABATINO. *Oriente in nuova luce.* O. Mod. 35 (Ja '55) 45. (Ettore Rossi). Contains chapters on the transition from the Umayyad to the Abbasid dynasty.
- 1284 NEGUIB, MOHAMMED. *Egypt's destiny.* Arab World 23 (Ap '55) 30. (S. H. Longrigg).
- Although somewhat biased, inaccurate in part, and characterized by a tendency to self-praise, "other parts of his record—regarding for instance Israel, Arab unity, and Egyptian history—are temperate and informative, and his modern interpretation of Islamic rules of life is interesting"; *Internat. Aff.* 31 (Jl '55) 320. (R. L. Hill). "While this book sensibly avoids political prophecy, it poses an important question—that of the ultimate legitimacy, as distinct from the immediate effectiveness (which is undoubted) of the revolutionary government"; *al-Kulliyah* 30 (My '55) 27-9. (Nabih A. Faris). *Mid. East J.* 9 (Summer '55) 328-9. (John S. Badeau). "The account of the new regime's first year is the fullest yet to be made," but it fails "sufficiently to lay bare the fundamental question upon which the struggle turned."
- 1285 NASSER, GAMAL ABDUL. *Egypt's liberation: the philosophy of the revolution.* Mid. East J. 9 (Summer '55) 328-9. (John S. Badeau). "This dedicated but problem-ridden revolutionary leader" discusses "observations on the *raison d'être* of the coup d'état, the problems of evoking national support for a new program, and the general setting of Egypt's attempt at regeneration."
- 1286 NEWMAN, K. J. *Essays from Pakistan.* Islamic Quart. 2 (Ap '55) 73-6. (I. Z. Abaza). The book "focuses the reader's attention . . . on the content of Islamic political and social thought."
- 1287 PAREJA, FELIX M. *Islamologia.* Muslim World 45 (Jl '55) 282-3. (Werner E. Goldner). "A comprehensive handbook of Islamic studies [that] surpasses in scope and presentation the old reliable reference works of the student of Islam."
- 1288 PEARSON, J. D. *Oriental manuscript collections in the libraries of Great Britain and Ireland.* O. Mod. 35 (Ja '55) 46.
- 1289 PEROWNE, STUART. *The one remains.* Mid. East Aff. 6 (My '55) 169. (James Parkes). "The author wanders through the history of Jerusalem, showing his intimate knowledge of every aspect of the city today, and he describes with deep sympathy and insight the actual lives and feelings of the Arabs."
- 1290 PHILBY, H. ST. JOHN. *Saudi Arabia.* al-Kulliyah 30 (Ap '55) 23ff. (Nabih A. Faris).
- 1291 PHILLIPS, WENDELL. *Qataban and Sheba.* al-Kulliyah 30 (Summer '55) 33-5. (Bruce Condé); *Mid. East J.* 9 (Summer '55) 329. (Fred V. Winnett); R.C.A.J. 42 (Ap '55) 196-7. (G. R. Driver).
- 1292 POPPER, WILLIAM. *The Cairo nilometer.* B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 185. (D. S. Rice).
- 1293 RIGGS, CHARLES T., tr. *Kritivoulos: History of Mehmed the conqueror.* O. Mod. 35 (F '55) 84-5. (Ettore Rossi).
- 1294 RINALDI, GIOVANNI. *Le lingue semitiche.* O. Mod. 35 (Ja '55) 45. (Ettore Rossi).

- 8295 ROBSON, J. *An introduction to the science of tradition* [of al-Naisābūri]. J.R.A.S. no. 3-4 (1954) 194-5. (H. A. R. Gibb).
- 8296 ROSENTHAL, FRANZ. *A history of Muslim historiography*. B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 168-9. (B. Lewis).
- 8297 RUMMEL, FRIEDRICH VON. *Die Türkei auf dem weg nach Europa*. O. Mod. 35 (Mr '55) 147-8. (Enzo Jemma).
- 8298 RYCKMANS, JACQUES. *L'institution monarchique en Arabie méridionale*. B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 167-8. (R. B. Serjeant). The review adds some interesting parallels from modern South Arabia.
- 8299 SALVA, JAIME. *La orden de Malta y las acciones navales españolas contra Turcos y Berberiscos en los siglos XVI y XVII*. O. Mod. 35 (F '55) 96. (Salvatore Bono).
- 8300 SANGER, RICHARD H. *The Arabian Peninsula*. Geog. Rev. 45 (Jl '55) 457-8. (John K. Wright); al-Kulliyah 29 (N '54) 29-30. (Bruce Condé); R.C.A.J. 42 (Ap '55) 195-6. (R. B. Serjeant). "A useful, informative book on modern Arabia. . . Unfortunately it cannot be said that this work has been written with the skill and distinction we have come to expect of writers on Arabia."
- 8301 SARKESIAN, M. S. *The relations of Armenian and Russian painting* (in Armenian). Armenian Rev. 8 (Je '55) 158. (H. Kurdian). "A well prepared intelligent book that gives a comprehensive picture of the relation of Armenian and Russian painting in 19th cent."
- 8302 SCHROEDER, ERIC. *Muhammad's people*. Mid. East J. 9 (Summer '55) 341-2. (Dwight M. Donaldson). "It is a veritable album of literary snapshots from a vast field of travel in the world of Islam."
- 8303 SCHULZE-HOLTHUS, BERNHARD. *Day-break in Iran*. Internat. Aff. 31 (Jl '55) 392-3. (R. W. Bullard). Deals with the adventures and observations of a German intelligence officer in Iran during World War II.
- 8304 SIDDIQI, MAZHARRUDIN. *Marxism or Islam*. Muslim World 45 (Jl '55) 283-4. (S. M. Yusuf). The reviewer gives a detailed summary of the book, which apparently deals more with Marxism than with Islam.
- 8305 SINOR, DENIS, ed. *Orientalism and History*. O. Mod. 35 (Ja '55) 46. (Ettore Rossi).
- 8306 SMITH, MARGARET, ed. *The Süfi path of love*. R.C.A.J. 42 (Ap '55) 198.
- 8307 SPIES, OTTO. *Orientalische stoffe in den kinder- und hausmärchen der brüder Grimm*. B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 193. (A. T. Hatto).
- 8308 STROTHMANN, R. ed. *Kitāb al-kashf* [of Ja'far b. Manṣūri 'l Yaman]. B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 184. (B. Lewis).
- 8309 STCHOUKINE, IVAN. *Les peintures des manuscrits Tīmūrides*. J.R.A.S., no. 1-2 (1955) 100-3. (Basil Gray). The reviewer regards these paintings as among the finest examples of romantic art, which should be made accessible to the general public and to schools.
- 8310 TĀMIR, Arif, ed. *Arba' rasā'il Ismā'iliyya*. B.S.O. Afr. Stud. 17, no. 1 (1955) 169-70. (S. M. Stern).
- 8311 TOTAH, KHALIL, trans. *Memoirs of Mohammed Kurd 'Ali*. al-Kulliyah 30 (My '55) 29-31.
- 8312 VAUGHN, DOROTHY M. *Europe and the Turk*. Mid. East J. 9 (Summer '55) 340-1. (Roderic H. Davison). "A compact account." . . . Although this "often makes for difficult reading, it will be of greater value to those already familiar with European or Ottoman history than to the beginner;" O. Mod. 35 (Ja '55) 46. (Ettore Rossi).
- 8313 VON RUMMEL, FRIEDRICH. *Die Türkei auf dem weg nach Europa*. Internat. Aff. 31 (Jl '55) 391-2. (Bernard Lewis). This introduction to modern Turkey has a "depth that is missing from most others. . . It is beautifully produced and illustrated, and despite the somewhat self-consciously cultured manner of the author, makes pleasant reading."
- 8314 WATT, W. MONTGOMERY. *Muhammad at Mecca*. Islamic Quart. 1 (O '54) 182-4. (W. 'Arafat); J.R.A.S., no. 3-4 (1954) 195-6. (J. M. B. Jones). "Does not make the widest possible use of the sources. . . is also inclined to accept as authentic material which is open to the gravest suspicion. . . most valuable when it deals with the economic and political aspects of the growth of Islam."
- 8315 WEHR, HANS. *Arabisches wörterbuch für die schriftsprache der gegenwart*. J.R.A.S. no. 3-4 (1954) 185-6. (G. M. Wickens).
- 8316 WIAN, GIOVANNI. *In Tunisia a ciascuno il suo*. O. Mod. 35 (Ja '55) 49. (E. Rossi).
- 8317 WICKENS, G. M., ed. *Avicenna — scientist and philosopher*. Islamic Cult. 29 (Ap '55) 153-6. (S. Vahiduddin).

MISCELLANEOUS

- 8318 KHALIFE, A. "The 23rd orientalist congress." (in Arabic) *al-Machriq* 48 (N '54) 719-23.
- 8319 LINGS, MARTIN. "Report on the XXIIIrd international congress of orientalist." *Islamic Quart.* 1 (O '54) 178-81. Includes the contents of several of the lectures in the Islamic Section.
- 8320 LOCKHART, LAURENCE. "The Avicenna millenary celebrations in Persia." R.C.A.J. 44 (Ja '55) 65-9. Outline of the program of activities scheduled for the Orientalists, Persian and non-Persian, invited by the Persian Government. The Avicenna Congress was a great success, and the contributions of the savants worthy.

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- al-Abhath. Lebanon and Syria, LL9; foreign, £1; single issue LL2.50, 6s. *q* American Univ. of Beirut; agent: Dar al-Kitab, POB 1284, Beirut, Lebanon.
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- American Anthropologist. Institutions, \$9.00; individuals, \$8.50; single issue \$2.25. *bi-m* Dept. of Anthropology, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago 37, Ill.
- American Historical Review. \$7.50; single issue \$2. *q* American Historical Association, Study Room 274, Library of Congress Annex, Washington 25, D. C.; single issues available from The Macmillan Co., 60 Fifth Ave., New York 11, N. Y.
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ABBREVIATIONS

- | | | |
|---|---|------------------------------|
| A., Asian, Asiatic, asiatique | Mag., Magazine | <i>Arabic</i> |
| Acad., Academy | Mid., Middle | K., Kitab, etc. |
| Aff., Affairs, affaires | Mod., Modern, moderno, etc. | Maj., Majallah, etc. |
| Afr., African, Afrique, etc. | Mus., Museum, musée | |
| Amer., American | Natl., National | <i>Russian, Polish, etc.</i> |
| Archeol., Archeological, archéologique | Nr., Near | |
| B., Bulletin | Numis., Numismatic, numismatique | Akad., Akademii |
| C., Central | O., Oriental, oriente, etc. | Fil., Filosofi |
| Cent., Century | Pal., Palestine | Inst., Institut |
| Contemp., Contemporary, etc. | Phil., Philosophical | Ist., Istorii |
| Cult., Culture | Philol., Philological, philologique | Izvest., Izvestia |
| D., Deutsch | Polit., Political, politique | Lit., Literaturi |
| Dept., Department | Proceed., Proceedings | Orient., Orientalni |
| East., Eastern | Quart., Quarterly | Ser., Seriya |
| Econ., Economic, économique | R., Royal | Sov., Sovetskoye |
| For., Foreign | Res., Research | Uchon., Uchoniye |
| G., Gesellschaft | Rev., Review, revue | Vostok., Vostokovedenia |
| Geog., Geographical, géographique, etc. | Riv., Rivista | Yaz., Yazika |
| Gr. Brit., Great Britain | S., School | Zap., Zapiski |
| Hist., Historical, historique, etc. | Soc., Society, société | |
| Illust., Illustrated | Stud., Studies | <i>Turkish</i> |
| Inst., Institute | Trans., Transactions | Coğ., Coğrafya |
| Internat., International | U.S., United States | Fak., Fakülte |
| J., Journal | USSR, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics | Univ., Üniversite |
| L., Literature, etc. | | |
| M., Morgenländisch, etc. | Univ., University, université | |
| | Z., Zeitschrift, Zeitung | |

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